Judaism in Western Asia Minor under the Roman Empire, with a Preliminary Study of the Jewish Community at Sardis, Lydia

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Alf Thomas Kraabel

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Attempts to understand this Judaism have been hampered heretofore by lack of evidence; bits of information existed about the Jews in a number of cities, but no Jewish community was attested in detail sufficient to allow it to be described with any thoroughness. This situation began to change in 1962 when the Harvard-Cornell Excavation of Sardis discovered a mammoth (20 x 90 meters) synagogue in that Lydian city. It is now possible to circumscribe a part of western Asia Minor and, with the help of the Sardis evidence, to come to know the Jews who lived there in the first four centuries AD. This area, ancient Ionia, Phrygia and Lydia, measures 150 miles north to south and less than 200 miles east to west.

i

Ionia contains the only two Anatolian buildings previously designated as synagogues: one, at Priene, is definitely that. The other, at Miletus, is questionable: it was first called a synagogue because its groundplan appeared to resemble those of the synagogues of Palestine; but Palestinian building forms are not simply reproduced by Anatolian Jews, and the other evidence from the site is inconclusive. In Smyrna fairly reliable evidence (Martyrdom of Polycarp, Martyrdom of Pionios, Life of Polycarp) indicates that local Jews took an active part in the persecution of Christians there; such stories from many other Christian communities have proved to be late and unreliable, but the Smyrnean tradition is early and strong. The common claim that some Smyrna Jews apostasized in the early second century is shown to be based on a false interpretation of IGRR IV 1431 = CII 742, where hoi pote Ioudaioi = "the former Judeans," not "the former Jews."

ii

In Phrygia Judaism has long been defined along the lines laid down by Sir William M. Ramsay; a reexamination of his evidence and of more recent material shows that his view was erroneous to the extent that it was based on a prejudgment of Anatolian Jews as a haughty, aloof group, Hellenized sometimes to the point of apostasy, closely allied with Roman officialdom. Thus, in Eumeneia, the "Eumeneian (grave-protection) formula" estai...pros ton theon is shared by Jews and Christians, and used also by pagans. In Acmonia the first-century "synagogue of Julia Severa" (MAMA VI 264 = CII 766) was the gift of a powerful woman, a city official, but she was not a Jew but a Gentile sympathetic to Judaism. The use of the adjective hypsistos in CII 769 necessitated a review of the evidence for a deity Hypsistos in Ionia, Phrygia and Lydia, with the conclusion that this adjective is characteristic of the piety of the period, but tells little about the religious background of the dedicator and is never a clear indication that he is Jewish.

In Apameia third-century coins showing the OT ark (with the name Noe on its side) plus literary evidence (Ovid, Sibylline Oracles) show that local flood traditions were in process of combining with the Flood Story from Gen 6ff. Something similar occurs in Sardis too, in all probability; there a synagogue inscription refers to a phyle Leontiōn, a "tribe of the men of the lion (of Judah?)," and the synagogue is decorated with a number of lion images. Since there are frequent references to the lion in the earlier traditions of Gentile Sardis, it appears that here (as in Apameia) local Jews are attempting to associate Biblical traditions with indigenous legends.

Both the "heresy" of the NT letter to the Colossians and the decrees of the fourth-century council of Laodiceia are evidence of close connections between local Jews and Christians, but the "Phrygian heresy," Montanism, does not manifest peculiarly Jewish elements.

iii

In *Lydia* the puzzling Thyateira inscription IGRR IV 1281 = CII 752 (ca. AD 200) with its reference to a building called the Sambatheion and to a certain "Chaldean" (or *chaldaios*) required an investigation both of an ancient prophetic figure, the "Chaldean oracle," and of the Anatolian deity Sabazios, since each has been associated with the inscription and with Lydian Judaism. The conclusion was that the Sambatheion was probably a synagogue and that neither Sabazios nor the "Chaldean oracle" was likely to have been included by Lydian Jews within their religion.

About Sardis some tentative conclusions: 1) the violent anti-Jewish attacks in the *Peri Pascha* of Melito, bishop of Sardis (fl. AD 175) are less the product of his Quartodeciman theology than a reaction to the considerable social and political power of local Jews. 2) This power is attested also by the choice location of their synagogue and by the probability that the building was originally a civic basilica and was turned over to them by the city in the second century. 3) Both the synagogue and its inscriptions suggest also that Sardis Jews were a part of the community and welcome in it; nothing indicates that (by their choice or by Gentile demand) they existed separate and aloof. 4) The most important inscription from the synagogue (IN 66.3) shows that the community had its own "rabbi" (and thus its own school) and that he used the titles hiereus and sophodidaskalos. 5) The success of these Jews in adapting the civic basilica to their liturgical needs strongly suggests that Diaspora Judaism provides the transition between the well-known Roman civic basilica and the later Christian basilica-church.

In general the Jews of Sardis resemble those of Alexandria, in that both groups were important, even enthusiastic parts of their society (differing from the less prestigious Jews of Dura and Rome), though nothing like the occasional hostility of Jew and Gentile in Alexandria is attested for Sardis.

It is becoming increasingly clear that Diaspora Judaism (like its contemporary, Diaspora Christianity) came in many varieties, each type relating to its social and theological environment with its own degree of aloofness or attraction. It is of importance also for the understanding of Christianity in Asia Minor to know 1) that some Jews like those known from Sardis entered the Church there, 2) that it is this kind of Judaism with which Anatolian Christians would be familiar, 3) that the "Jewish Christianity" often supposed to be widespread in Asia Minor is usually rather Anatolian Judaism of a fairly standard type. (A more detailed summary of this dissertation is to be found in the outline of it used as a Table of Contents, pages 2-4.)

CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE

I. Sources for Research into Anatolian Judaism 5

II. Ionia 14

A. Miletus and Priene 14

i. Miletus 14

ii. Priene 20

B. Smyrna 26

i. Introduction 26

ii. The "synagogue of Satan" (Rev 2:9); "the former Judeans" (CII 742) 27

iii. The Hagiography of Smyrna 32

iv. Epigraphic Evidence for a Synagogue 40

v. The Status of Anatolian Women, Jewish, Pagan and Christian 43

C. Ephesus 51

i. Introduction 51

ii. Magic 53

III. Phrygia 61

A. Eumeneia 61

i. The Eumeneian Formula 61

ii. Cities and Bishoprics no. 361 68

B. Acmonia 70

i. The Synagogue of Julia Severa 71

ii. Grave Curses: the "written curses" 81

CHAPTER PAGE

iii. Grave Curses: the "children's children" curses 82

iv. Grave Curses citing the OT 86

v. Hypsistos 93

vi. Cities and Bishoprics no. 455-57 109

Appendix: The Numbers used to identify Acmonian inscriptions 116

C. Apameia 118

i. The Evidence from Cicero, *pro Flacco* 118

ii. Apameian Flood Traditions and Coins Depicting Noah's Ark 118

iii. Grave Curses; Rabbinic References to an Apameia 123

D. The Lycus Valley 125

i. Hierapolis: the Jewish Inscriptions 125

ii. Hierapolis: the use of *signa* 129

iii. Hierapolis: the meaning of *katoikia* 130

iv. Hierapolis: the societies 134

v. Laodiceia 135

vi. The Council of Laodiceia 136

vii. Colossae: the Colossian "Heresy" 139

viii. Colossae: *aggeloi* and *aggelikoi* 143

E. Montanism, the "Phrygian Heresy" 149

IV. Lydia 155

A. From Thyateira to Philadelphia 155

i. Thyateira: the Jewish Evidence 156

CHAPTER PAGE

ii. CII 752 and the "Chaldean Sibyl" 163

iii. CII 752: Local Evidence for Sabazios and for Judaism 168

iv. Philadelphia: the Jewish Evidence 181

v. Conclusions 191

B. Sardis 198

i. Introduction 198

ii. Christianity at Sardis: Melito, _Peri_ _Pascha_ . 203

iii. The Status of Sardis Jews 218

iv. The _sophodidaskalos_ Inscription 222

v. Was the Sardis Synagogue Used as a School? . . 226

vi. The Equipment of the Synagogue 227

vii. The Synagogue as a Basilica 233

viii. The Area Around the Synagogue (with plan) . . 236

V. Conclusions: Sardis and Ancient Judaism 241

Bibliography 250

CHAPTER I

SOURCES FOR RESEARCH INTO ANATOLIAN JUDAISM

Outside of Palestine, in the Diaspora, two major Jewish settlements are well attested and widely studied, the one centering in Alexandria,[1] the other in Rome.[2] Each is in a location which has produced a large literature, some of it referring to Jews, some of it written by Jews; for each there is abundant paleographical evidence as well, inscriptions for Rome, papyri and some inscriptions in Egypt.

Asia Minor has not been so fortunate; it has no IG^2 or CPJ, MAMA and the now-reviving TAM cover only part of the western half of the peninsula, and IGRR and OGIS were not intended to be more than selections. Literary evidence from Jewish authors is mainly from Josephus and mainly for the Hellenistic period; the most important text is AJ 12.148-53, reproducing a letter of Antiochus III to the satrap Zeuxis, written at the end of the third century BC. Antiochus orders that 2000 Jewish families from Babylonia be settled in "the fortresses and most important places" of Lydia and Phrygia; the Jews are considered a civilizing and peace-keeping force, in the face of revolts in those areas (paragraph 149).[1] Tcherikover appears correct in saying that these 2000 families "laid the foundation of the Jewish diaspora in Asia Minor;"[2] the many other Anatolian colonies known to have been founded by the Seleucids and by other Hellenistic rulers must also have contained transplanted Jews in some cases.[3] It should then be noted that the first Jews (and perhaps many of the Jews) in this part of the Diaspora do not come from Palestine, making Palestinian evidence less directly relevant in attempts to explain Anatolian Judaism. Josephus also records decrees promulgated in the first century BC to protect the Anatolian Jewish communities at Miletus, Pergamum, Halicarnassus, Tralles, Laodiceia, Sardis and Ephesus (AJ 14.223-64), while 1 Macc. 15:15-23 contains a Roman decree of the second century BC in favor of the Jews of Caria, Pamphylia, Lycia, Halicarnassus, Myndos, Cnidus, Phaselis, Side and Amysos, all in Asia Minor.[4]

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[1] The major historian of Egyptian Judaism is Victor Tcherikover, see his CPJ (in particular the long introduction to volume one) and the frequent references in the second part of his Hellenistic Civilization (269ff.).

[2] On Rome the standard work is now Leon, Jews of Ancient Rome, with extensive bibliography, 347-64; Leon's appendix of Roman Jewish inscriptions (263-346) is in effect a corrected and supplemented "second edition" of the Rome section of CII, and is to be used in preference to the earlier work.

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[1] Zeuxis' close connection with Sardis is now attested by the Hellenistic inscription published by Robert, Nouvelles Inscriptions 9-21, no. 1; Robert considers the Josephus text authentic, 12. See chapter IV B i infra and Tcherikover, Hellenistic Civilization 287f. with notes.

[2] Hellenistic Civilization 288.

[3] On the Seleucid colonies in Asia Minor, M. Rostovtzeff, The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World (1952^2) I 491ff.; the letter in Josephus is discussed on 492.

[4] The second-century decree is from the reign of the Hasmonean Simon, who controlled Judea 141-35 BC; on the exact date, Schuerer,

Rabbinic references to Asia Minor are very rare and indicate that, while the Jewish communities here were known to exist, and even were visited by a rabbi on occasion, this part of the Diaspora --like Rome[1]--was on the periphery of rabbinic concern. A number of supposed references to Asian cities turn out to be mistranslations; the best example is the talmudic statement, bShabbath 147b, usually translated: "The wine and the baths of Phrygia have separated the ten tribes (of Israel) from their brothers." This has led to a great deal of speculation about apostasies of Phrygian Jews, brought on by local luxuries; however, the proper noun is פרוגתיא refers not to Phrygia but to a spa in north Palestine, and thus has nothing to do with the present topic.[2]

Early Christian texts for Asia Minor were near at hand, but the interpretation of their general content by successive generations of scholars usually determined also the information

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(continued from preceding page) Geschichte I 251f. On the decrees in general, Tcherikover, Hellenistic Civilization 288 with notes, cf. 287-89 on other, more general references to the existence of Anatolian Jewish communities.

[1] See Leon, Jews of Ancient Rome 226 on the lack of demonstrable rabbinic influence on the Rome Jewish community.

[2] See Bickerman, "Altars" 148 note 32, with a mordant comment on earlier misuse of this text. The Soncino translation (p. 750) has it correctly, but a number of earlier standard reference works perpetuated the error, e.g. A. Neubauer, La géographie du Talmud (1868) 315f.; Schultze, Staedte II.1 400f.; Ramsay, St. Paul the Traveller (1927^{16}) 141-44. Other examples of similarly misinterpreted geographical references in rabbinic texts infra, chapter III C iii.

about Jews which they were made to reveal, and there was little outside control by which the "Jews" thus produced could be checked. Thus the Jewish opponents in Colossians (infra, III D vii) and the "Judaizers" attacked by Ignatius (infra, IV A iv) could not be fastened firmly into their Lydian or Phrygian context and the accounts of Smyrnean martyrs (infra, II B iii) were read against a distorted view of the role of Jews in persecutions throughout the Empire. In addition, the Lukan Paul's custom of beginning work in a city by preaching in the synagogues[1] led first to the positing of numerous "Jewish settlements" in Asia Minor, attested only by quotations from Acts, and often later to great confusion as a given piece of epigraphical or archeological evidence with Jewish elements was attributed to ubiquitous Anatolian "Jewish Christians"

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[1] On this crucial point, Conzelmann, Apostelgeschichte 77f.; he shows that a "heilsgeschichtliche Prinzip" determines the pattern followed when the Lukan Paul begins his missionary activity in a given location. This principle is stated in Acts 13:46f.: "And Paul and Barnabas spoke out boldly (to the Jews), saying, 'It was necessary that the word of God should be spoken first to you. Since you thrust it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life, behold, we turn to the Gentiles.'" The same theme is repeated later: in Corinth Paul "argued in the synagogue every sabbath...And when they (the Jews) opposed and reviled him, he shook out his garments and said to them, 'Your blood be upon your heads! I am innocent. From now on I will go to the Gentiles'" (18:4-6, cf. 28:25-28). For accounts of the Lukan Paul in Anatolian synagogues, see 13:14ff. (Antioch, Pisidia), 14:1ff. (Iconium, Lycaonia), 18:19 and 19:8ff. (Ephesus). Apollos also begins his preaching in Ephesus in the synagogue, 18:26. On the basis of Acts, the assumption was that Paul always began his preaching in synagogues; it was an easy extension of that to suppose that whenever he is described as preaching in a location, a synagogue and therefore a Jewish community must have existed there in the first century AD.

(supposed descendants of Paul's converts) who practiced a religion that squared neither with orthodox Christianity nor with rabbinic Judaism and thus had to be "explained" with a label which put them just between Jew and Christian.

The Sardis synagogue (discovered in 1962 during the Harvard-Cornell excavation) stands to become the catalyst for a rapid change in this situation; it is now possible to attempt the reconstruction of the Judaism of that part of Asia in the Imperial period.[1] Had none of the more than eighty Jewish inscriptions been discovered, the sheer size of the building (90 meters long from front steps to apse) and its central location in the Roman city would have been enough to attest a large and powerful Jewish community there. As it is, there is much evidence in addition to the building itself, and the supply increases yearly; the inscription most important for the history of religions was discovered only in 1966 (IN 66.3, discussed infra, chapter IV B iv-v) and what might well be the public "fountain of the synagogue" (known to exist since CII 751 was found at the end of the last century) did not appear until 1967 (infra, chapter IV B viii). Nevertheless, a great quantity of information has been provided already by the excavations;[2] it reveals a Jewish community quite integrated into the social, economic and political life of a major Anatolian city, while retaining an internal cohension and a clear understanding of itself as a part of Diaspora Judaism.

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[1] "The Imperial period" is always used herein to mean the first four centuries AD.

[2] For a preliminary presentation of the new archeological evidence, see Mitten, The Ancient Synagogue of Sardis. For the inscriptions found the first year (1962), see the section "Inscriptions de la synagogue" in Louis Robert's Nouvelles Inscriptions, 37-58.

The more precise context within which Sardis is to be seen, however, is not the "Diaspora Judaism," sprawling and multiform, which stretches from the northern Bosporus to Babylonia to Egypt to Spain, and about which many general things have been written;[1] what must be investigated in detail is rather the Anatolian Judaism of Phrygia, Lydia and Ionia, somewhat more than the middle half of the Roman province Asia. Even in this much smaller area (150 miles north to south, less than 200 miles east to west) there are variations: Ionian Judaism is more cosmopolitan, Phrygian often rustic, and Lydian Judaism is dominated by Sardis. Nevertheless, what can be said about the other towns and cities discussed contributes to an understanding of Sardis, and, while most of the pages to follow do not come under the heading "Sardis," they were written with frequent reference to that city and with the new discoveries always in mind.

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[1] Three recent and very different investigations of aspects of Diaspora Judaism as a whole have been extremely useful in this study: 1) Goodenough's Symbols, epoch-making but highly controversial, see the two critiques by Morton Smith, "The Image of God: Notes on the Hellenization of Judaism, with Especial Reference to Goodenough's Work on Jewish Symbols," BJRL 40 (1958) 473-512 and "Goodenough's Jewish Symbols in Retrospect," JBL 86 (1967) 53-68 (with an extensive index of other reviews of the Symbols, 66f.) 2) Simon's Verus Israel, on Jewish-Christian relations, hostile or accommodating, in the Imperial period. 3) Georgi's Gegner, which includes a study of the missionary and propaganda activities of Hellenistic Judaism, in an attempt to determine the nature of the opponents whom Paul combats in 2 Cor.

Some of the evidence to be used has already been mentioned; for the rest, the corpus of inscriptions which should be basic for this study, the second volume of CII, is woefully incomplete and inaccurate, in part because it is a posthumous work, completed after J.-B. Frey's death by Gerhard Kittel (among others) during the second World War. Happily, the preeminent epigraphist for Asia Minor, Louis Robert, has shown a fine sensitivity for Jewish texts and frequently is the first to recognize the Jewish elements in unpublished or previously published inscriptions. His annual reviews of them in effect complete and correct CII and keep it up to date; unfortunately no full collection of the texts not in CII has ever been combined with a re-editing of those which were included to form an accurate and current collection of Anatolian Jewish inscriptions.[1]

With a few exceptions (e.g. Ramsay, the MAMA editors), nearly all investigation of Anatolian Christianity has been done with a view to the place of the text or the author within the NT or the history of Christian thought; this approach (for all its value) has the effect of freeing the subject from its context in

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[1] Robert notes all Jewish inscriptions published each year in his annual review in REG, the "Bulletin épigraphique," under the heading "Inscriptions greco-juives." His thorough and caustic review of the second volume of CII (in "Bull. épigr." 1954, no. 24) is the place where a new collection would have to begin. Lifshitz's Donateurs does give up-to-date texts for inscriptions which have to do with synagogue donations and construction (on Asia Minor, 20-38, heavily dependent on Robert), but it is incomplete in its discussions and its bibliographies.

Asia Minor and relating it rather to the Church in general. Not only does this detach evidence from whatever in Anatolian Judaism or paganism might be germane, it smooths over what might be characteristic or peculiar in the Christianity of Asia Minor as well. This is obvious in the interpretations of the Pauline letter to Colossae (III D vii) and especially in the case of the *Peri Pascha* of Melito of Sardis (IV B ii).

It will be easily evident in the three central chapters below that the kinds of data used do not always fit tightly together; literary texts, inscriptions and archeological evidence afford different kinds of certainty and varying degrees of clarity. Frequently when they are used together to buttress a presentation, the result is complex, not at all as neat as one which draws on but one type of source. For example: the Qumran scrolls and the Nag Hammadi documents, when fully available, will offer quantities of literary, theological evidence. They can be studied and evaluated with methods already fully developed and widely understood, methods which will tie these documents and their communities into late Judaism or early Christianity convincingly and with precision. Their value and direct relevance for the history of ancient religions is and will be obvious and irrefutable.

There are no similar, multi-columned documents from Anatolian Judaism; the "texts" are inscriptions of no more than a dozen words, the buildings at Miletus and Priene (infra, chapter II A) and Sardis are of a piece with the rest of their surrounding cities.

In the next chapters, what can be said directly about the religious thought of Judaism in Asia Minor will sometimes be meager indeed. What the evidence yields instead is something equally valuable, but less readily available: a rather clear picture of one kind of Diaspora Judaism *as it relates to an indigenous and heavily Gentile culture and society*; or rather, a picture of a number of Ionians, Phrygians and Lydians, each of whom participates in the life of his own city, speaking its language, fitting into its commercial and social life and its government, honoring its traditions, and all the while remaining within the race and the faith of the Jews.

CHAPTER II

IONIA

Before the Sardis discoveries, two other buildings in Asia Minor had been identified as synagogues, both on the Ionian coast, one at Miletus, the other at Priene; each is later and much smaller than the Lydian building, neither being as long as the narrow Sardis synagogue is wide.[1]

i

Miletus was already well known as a major seaport and commercial center in the eastern Mediterranean in the hellenistic period; traders from Syria and Egypt called here, and wool from Miletus becomes so well known that a reference to it is inserted into the LXX at Ezek. 27:18.[2]

The Jewish community in Miletus is first attested in one of the decrees of protection preserved by Josephus (AJ 14.244-46);

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[1] Neither Ionian building is listed by Krauss in his article "Synagoge," RE (2.Reihe) 4 (1932) 1299 though the Priene synagogue was identified by Schultze, Staedte II.2 136f. and the Miletus building was labelled a synagogue by A. von Gerkan sometime between 1916 (when the Kohl-Watzinger book on synagogues was published) and 1921, when his article "Synagoge in Milet" was written.

[2] On Milesian wool, Broughton "Economic Survey" 817; Tarn, Hellenistic Civilization 223 note 4. On Jewish trade, Tcherikover, Hellenistic Civilization 70; and generally, Magie, Roman Rule 47-49, 73f. Generally on Miletus: M. Mayer, RE 15 (1932) 1622-55; V. Schultze, Staedte II.2 168f.; Magie, Roman Rule, 73f. with notes; M. Mellink, "Miletus," IDB III 378f.

its exact date depends on the identification of the Roman official and the Milesian representative mentioned therein, but in any case the text falls in the period from the second half of the second century to the second half of the first BC.[1] The decree itself states that Milesian Jews have been attacked, hindered in their attempts to observe the Sabbath and their ancestral rites; they were also unable τοὺς καρποὺς μεταχειρίζεσθαι in the customary way. The Greek phrase is puzzling: it has been taken to refer to the Jews' desire to send annual contributions to the temple at Jerusalem, but the use of the word karpoi ("food supplies"?) may indicate that the Jews rather had complained of being unable to have proper, i.e. "kosher" food. When the rights of the Jews of Sardis are being protected in either of these matters, the texts are quite clear: AJ 16.171 specifically mentions

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[1] In the text of Josephus the Roman official is named Publius Servilius Galba, son of Publius, and the Milesian representative Prytanis, son of Hermas. J. Chamonard, Ouevres completes de Flavius Josephe (ed. T. Reinach) III (1904) ad loc. rejects attempts to emend the official's name, but a change in one word would produce Publius Servilius, the son of Publius (Servilius) Vatia, proconsul of Asia 46-44 BC, an important figure in first century Asia and so esteemed that in Ephesus "the citizens added the worship of Servilius to that of the Goddess Roma with a priest for the combined cult," Magie, Roman Rule 417, cf. 447; the textual change is hard to account for, however, and no inscriptions referring to this proconsul contain his father's name Vatia, so Muenzer, "P. Servilius Isauricus," RE (2.Reihe) 2 (1923) 1800. The name Prytanis, son of Samos, from Miletus, occurs in SIG^3 720 (ca. last quarter of the second century BC); this Prytanis is a proxenos, thus there is a rough parallel between him and the Prytanis of Josephus. For other solutions, see Muenzer, "P. Servilius Galba," RE (2.Reihe) 2 (1923) 1790f.

Jerusalem in dealing with the former problem, and AJ 14.261 is equally explicit regarding "proper" foodstuffs.[1]

The best-known item of Jewish evidence in Miletus is the famous "theater inscription" of the Imperial period, CII 748: "Place of the Jews, also known as *theosebioi*;" evidence from Sardis and other Jewish communities shows that this adjective was not uncommonly applied to Anatolian Jews.[2] Such participation in the customs and delights of city life are not uncharacteristic of them; it says much about their social life, little about their piety.[3] At Iasos in Caria, 25 miles southeast of Miletus, an ephebe-list "from the beginning of the Imperial period" includes a Jew named Ioudas,[4] a parallel to CII 755 from Hypaepa, Lydia. Also from

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[1] R. Marcus does not discuss the problem in the Miletus text (Loeb ed., ad loc.), but assumes the phrase refers to gifts for Jerusalem; Chamonard op. cit. (preceding note) 251 is more cautious. Both translate quite literally, but Schuerer in a brief note (Geschichte III 110 note 37) leaves only this part of the text untranslated.

[2] Full discussion of this adjective, infra, chapter IV A iv end.

[3] See Tcherikover's apt attack (using Anatolian examples) on earlier scholars' overemphasis on the separatism of Diaspora Jews, CRJ I p. 39 note 99. The evidence from Sardis may now be added: there the synagogue is in the midst of the city, next to the center of public life, the gymnasium and baths.

[4] Robert, Hellenica III (1946) 100f., not in CII. Tcherikover, Hellenistic Civilization, 350 states that two other names on the list may also be Jewish; he gives them as Theophilos and Dositheos. The latter does not appear among those printed by Robert and is probably a mistake for Dosas, the name appearing (in Robert's list) just above Ioudas. Ioudas in an epitaph from Iasos, Caria: Robert, Hellenica I (1940) 28f. and "Bull. épigr." 1964, no. 466. CII 755 is discussed infra, 181.

Iasos is CII 749 (second century BC): a metic from Jerusalem, Niketas, son of Iason, is listed as one of many contributors defraying the cost of a Dionysia; the nature of the festival is clear from the fact that the inscriptions listing contributors (including metics also from Antioch, Seleucia and Marathus in Syria) are on the wall of the local theater.[1]

The "synagogue" of Miletus, a "basilica" with a peristyle court at the side, is the latest evidence from this city to be discussed; architectural details have been published, but with confusion at two points: the date of the complex and its actual identification as a synagogue.[2] The wall-construction (rough, with much use of material from earlier buildings) is of the type associated with the later Imperial period, indicative of "any date after the end of the second century;"[1] the forecourt incorporates in its foundation a monument of the Flavian period, so that the building could not have been built until time had passed sufficient for the monument to fall into disrepair and ruin.

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[1] See the diagram in P. Lebas and W. Waddington, Voyage Archeologique en Grece et en Asie Mineure III.2 (1870) p. 92; the other Syrian metics are mentioned on p. 89. CII mistakenly locates Iasos in Ionia. Schuerer's comment (Geschichte III 16f.) about a Jew's supporting a "pagan festival" draws a parallel between Niketas and the Jews who attempted to "hellenize" Jerusalem before the Maccabean revolt, cf. 2 Macc. 4:9-15; they are contemporaries, or nearly so, but this is the extent of what is common to the two situations. Niketas is one of many metics from all parts of the eastern Mediterranean (cf. Lebas-Waddington, p. 89, where their countries of origin are listed) helping to support a local event in Iasos; apostasy to one's religion is not involved, despite Tarn, Hellenistic Civilization 221. Niketas supports the local festival at the Iasos theater just as the Milesian Jews (by their attendance) later "supported" performances in another theater not far away.

[2] Official publication is by A. von Gerkan in Miletus, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen..., ed. T. Wiegand, I.6 (1922) 80-82, with Abb. 19 (reconstruction of the plan) and Tafel I,2 and XI ("Erhaltungszustand"); he also published a separate article, "Synagoge in Milet" with essentially the same text and the clearest plan of the site, p. 178. See also Goodenough, Symbols II 78, III 880, and Sukenik, Synagogues 40-42.

The clearest indication of date is an inscribed altar of Poseidon found reused as a support for one of the columns;[2] the dedication states that the altar was erected in accord with the wish of the Apollo of Didyma who is then identified with Helios. This points to a time "after AD 275, when Aurelian established the Helios cult," with the time of Julian (died AD 363) the most probable.[3] This gives a date no earlier than the last quarter of the fourth century for the reuse of the altar as a column base. However, the two rows of columns are themselves a later addition, so that the original building may be earlier than this altar. In its first stage, the room was without columns and had two niches in its west wall and two side doors in its east wall; these were covered up by later construction. Two construction periods are thus evident: the first in the third century (or early fourth?) when the complex of main room and peristyle court was built, the second (late fourth century at the earliest) when the main room was turned into a "basilica" with the addition of the pillars, perhaps to support a gallery. A third period, still later, is indicated by a rough, tower-like structure in the courtyard, built over and to the north of where the Flavian-period monument lay buried.

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[1] See von Gerkan, "Synagoge in Milet" 180.

[2] Inscription no. 191, p. 107 of the official report cited supra, preceding page, note 2; it supported the second column from the east in the south row of columns and is visible in Tafel XI. The only other inscription from the building was no. 192a, p. 107, a graffito with obscene pictures beneath; it was found "built into the east wall of the synagogue." Goodenough's description in Symbols II 78 is thus a bit inaccurate.

[3] See von Gerkan, "Synagoge in Milet" 180.

While the date of the building might be settled in this way, that it is a synagogue is far from proved. The complex was not fully excavated; perhaps half of the main room and less than a sixth of the courtyard was exposed fully. This is indicated by convention in the drawings printed by Goodenough and Sukenik (the unexcavated but "suggested" features are more lightly drawn in) but the full importance of this point is not always recognized: the "restoration" was done on the basis of the synagogue plans from Palestine found in a book by Kohl and Watzinger which had just been published![1] The actual state of excavation is shown in Tafel XI ("Erhaltungszustand") of the official report; it indicates that the number of columns in the main hall ("basilica") was quite unclear, as was much of the detail for the rooms on the west side of the courtyard, while the east wall of the courtyard and the very existence of a row of rooms along the north wall was largely conjectural. No Jewish evidence was found in or near the complex. As the Priene and Sardis synagogues show, Palestinian building styles are not always reproduced in Asia Minor. The Miletus structure has been too heavily reworked to be sure of its uses; it is "at best only a possibility as a synagogue."[1]

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[1] As von Gerkan states, "Synagoge in Milet" 181.

Miletus has yielded two dedications to theos hypsistos from the Imperial period, but they are probably not to be identified as Jewish.[2]

ii

Priene is located high on a mountain-side overlooking the now silted-in Sinus Latmicus and Miletus some ten miles to the south; the city plan is a classic "Hippodamian" grid stamped into a slanting hill site, so that the major thoroughfares run laterally east and west and the north-south "streets" are more often flights of stairs.[1] The synagogue is located in a rebuilt house of the hellenistic period (the expedition's no. 24 on "Westtorstrasse"); it is a slightly irregular rectangle with internal measurements of 10 m. (east-west dimension) by 14 m. (north-south). A Torah-niche 1.5 m. wide by 1.5 m. deep is set in the east wall, the side closest to Jerusalem. The original excavators dated the remodeled structure as no later than the fourth or fifth century, but they were surely influenced in this by their identification of it as a "house-church".[2] The most obvious parallel is the Dura synagogue (destroyed ca. AD 256), also originally a residence, rebuilt into a synagogue (the "early building") in the second century and then remodeled into a more elaborate synagogue in the first half of the third.[3] In Dura as in Priene, the synagogue proper took up only a part of the remodeled house, with the adjoining rooms used for community functions and perhaps as a hostel.[1]

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[1] Goodenough, Symbols II 78; the certainty of Sukenik, Synagogues 40-42 is not consonant with the meager evidence (although he seems to have persuaded Robert, "Inscriptions...de Sidè" 45 note 4). The present writer visited Miletus 10 August 1966; the site of the building is much overgrown and marked by no identifying sign, but the exploratory trenches cut by the German excavators are clear enough; they correspond to those indicated in the plans of the building. Apparently little or nothing has been done since the publication of the final report in 1922 to make identification of the structure more certain. The "synagogue" is not mentioned in the official Turkish guide, M. Baran, G(u)ide to Miletus (1965) though the complex appears (unlabelled) in his plan 3.

[2] They are discussed infra, 106.

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[1] The best introduction to the city is G. Kleiner, "Priene," RE Suppl. 9 (1962) 1181-1221 (historical survey, 1185-88), with the addition of the pictures and plans available in M. Schede, Die Ruinen von Priene (1934); the official publication is Wiegand und Schrader, Priene; see also Schultze, Staedte II.2 132-44 and Magie, Roman Rule, 78 with notes. On the synagogue, Wiegand und Schrader, 320, 480f.; Goodenough, Symbols II 77, III 878f., 882; Sukenik, Synagogues, 42f.

[2] Wiegand und Schrader, Priene, 480.

[3] On Dura, C. Kraeling, The Synagogue; the second-century date is given on 33. See also J. Guttmann, "Dura-Europos, C. Die Synagoge," Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst (1966) 1230-40 and Goodenough's mammoth treatment, Symbols IX-XI.

The pieces of evidence which prove the building a synagogue are clear enough, but their published descriptions are often inadequate; four items are involved: 1) a rather clumsy relief, showing a menorah flanked by an ethrog at the left, and at the right a shofar and then a lulab; this relief was found in the early Byzantine church next to the Priene theater, where it had been used as a "Christian" decoration.[2] This plaque was taken by the excavators to Berlin, with the consequence that it was often photographed and became quite well known.[3] 2) Another relief of somewhat better workmanship was found on the floor in front of the Torah niche; originally it had been fastened to the wall in or near the niche. The usual representations (e.g. Goodenough, Symbols III 882) show a menorah flanked by peacocks and (between the left peacock and the menorah) a lulab, but an object between the menorah and the right peacock was omitted by the first copier and is also missing in subsequent reproductions: this is not the usual ethrog but resembles what Goodenough calls a "Ruebe" (he takes the term over from Lietzmann, claiming that no adequate English equivalent exists), "a sort of root vegetable which tapers to a point below and has long leaves on top,"[1] a motif which appears in addition to or in place of the ethrog on some Jewish monuments, chiefly in the west but also on the frieze from the Pergamum synagogue.[2]

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[1] Wiegand und Schrader, Priene, Tafel XXI gives the clearest picture of the location of the synagogue and its side-rooms within the surrounding houses.

[2] A similar relief from the Pergamum synagogue was also reused in a nearby church; discussed infra 180.

[3] Published originally in Wiegand und Schrader, Priene, Abb. 682 = Goodenough, Symbols III 872. In Symbols II 77 Goodenough considers the shofar "some kind of circumcision knife" but he later changed his mind; the correction will be recorded in Symbols XIII, now in preparation.

Also found on the synagogue floor was 3) a large, rectangular pillar on which a menorah had been cut with light but regular lines; the carving is well-centered on the stone, but was apparently only a pattern for a more elaborate design which was never finished--only three arms of the menorah are represented.[3]

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[1] Goodenough, Symbols IV 146; the clearest example is Symbols III 814, a drawing from the Torlonia catacomb in Rome.

[2] The Pergamum fragment is discussed infra, 180. The plaque from Priene was recovered by the present writer during an examination of the Priene synagogue on 10 August 1966; it was then photographed, and a quick sketch was made by an archeological draftsman, Miss N. Hirschland. It is broken in two as the original report records, Wiegand und Schrader, Priene, 481; one fragment had remained in the main room of the synagogue, the other was found in the room just to the right (south) of the Torah niche. With the assistance of Bay M. Baran, Assistant Director, Izmir Archeological Museum, the plaque will hopefully be transferred to the museum at Miletus (although it was reported to be still untouched in the summer of 1967); it is of obviously better workmanship than the first frieze. The drawing in Wiegand und Schrader, Priene, 481, Abb. 586 (= Goodenough, Symbols III 882) was apparently done from notes, and not in the presence of the plaque.

[3] Mentioned in Wiegand und Schrader, Priene, 481, but with no reference to the fact that the "seven-branched candlestick" is incomplete.

4) A large ablution basin was also found; it is nearly a meter in diameter and all but intact.[1]

These four items (all but the first still in the synagogue in 1966!) make the identification certain, but the description of the building by Sukenik is at points misleading; he says that it "has all the features of an ancient synagogue. It consists of a forecourt and a basilica...."[2] As in Miletus so in Priene, the building in question was originally an open room without pillars marking off side aisles. In Priene two rows of stone slabs were later laid along the floor (rather carelessly, the northern being parallel neither to the side wall nor to the other row of slabs); columns may have been installed on these thin foundations, but only one column fragment was found in the room and it was not in place on the slabs.[3] It is thus misleading to call the Priene synagogue a basilica. The Priene Jews worshipped rather in the equivalent of a "house-church," whose side rooms probably served as a community center as well; it is thus not unlikely that the houses surrounding the building were also inhabited mainly by Jews. Given the size of Priene, it is probable that this is its only synagogue, which was also the center of a small "Jewish quarter." However, also on "Westtorstrasse" are a small Cybele sanctuary and a "holy house" (*hieros oikos*) with a cult of the deified Alexander the Great; all three "cult-places" are on the same side of the street and within the 125 meters between the synagogue and the city's west gate.[1] Thus even if the Jews inhabited this neighborhood in some numbers, they were not the only religious community represented.

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[1] The basin appears in Sukenik's plan (Synagogues 43, fig. 12) as a small circle near the niche; it is not labeled or mentioned in the text. Goodenough, Symbols III 879, reproduces the original plan from Wiegand und Schrader; the basin is clearly labeled and a number of other details (omitted in Sukenik's sketch) are included.

[2] Sukenik, Synagogues 43.

[3] Wiegand und Schrader, Priene, 480; interestingly, Sukenik records his visit to the Dura synagogue (Synagogues 82-85) but makes no reference to its decidedly non-basilical design.

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[1] On the Cybele "house" with its *bothros* for chthonic offerings, Wiegand und Schrader, Priene, 171f. and G. Kleiner, "Priene," RE Suppl. 9 (1962) 1218. On the "holy house" see Wiegand und Schrader 172-78 and Kleiner 1218; inscriptions indicate that the house was refurbished in the late second century BC, and apparently it continues to be used far into the Imperial period.

i

Centrally placed on the western coast of Asia Minor, Smyrna (now Izmir) was a major city long before the Imperial period; its history has been written in detail a number of times, so that a survey of the earlier period need not be repeated here.[1] One event from the hellenistic period should be singled out however: according to Tacitus, Ann. 4.56, Smyrna was the first city anywhere to erect a temple to the goddess Roma (consulship of the elder Cato, 195 BC); this was recognized by the Smyrneans and the Romans as a strong commitment to Rome at a time when the Seleucids were still the dominant power in Asia Minor and Antiochus III had not yet lost to Rome at the battles of Thermopylae (191 BC) and Magnesia ad Sipylum (190 BC, 20 miles northeast of Smyrna).[2] This loyalty was maintained and rewarded in the Imperial period; after calling attention to it in AD 26, the Smyrneans were given permission to erect a temple for Tiberius, although the major cities of Asia

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[1] The most exhaustive treatment is Cadoux, Smyrna, which begins with evidence from the third millennium and continues to AD 325; it will be often cited, but its usefulness for the Imperial period and for the Smyrnean Jews in particular is lessened by the author's decision to accept the Vita Polycarpi as trustworthy historical data. See also Ramsay, Letters 251-80; Schultze, Staedte II.2 50-68; and Burchner, "Smyrna," RE (2. Reihe) 3 (1927) 730-65. W. Calder, "Smyrna as Described by the Orator Aelius Aristides," in Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire, ed. W. Ramsay (1906) 95-116 is chiefly topographical.

[2] Cadoux, Smyrna 239f., cf. 136 with notes; Ramsay, Letters 253f. On the political background, M. Cary, A History of the Greek World, 323-146 BC (1951^2) 194-96, 209-16.

(Sardis and Pergamum among them) had competed vigorously for the honor (Tacitus, Ann. 4.55f.).

ii

The earliest[1] information about the Jews of Smyrna (end of the first century AD) is the attack on "those who say they are Jews and are not, but are of a synagogue of Satan," Rev. 2:9; the remainder of this letter to the Christian community at Smyrna deals with "suffering," "testing" and imprisonment soon to come, Rev. 2:10. Since converted Jews made up a part of this congregation (as Ignatius, Smyr. 1.2 implies, see next paragraph), the problem is similar to that present in Philadelphia, Lydia: the conversion of Jews or proselytes to Christianity has aroused the fury of the local Jewish community. In a reply to this situation of tension, the author of Revelation in effect denies that the Smyrnean Jews are true Jews; they are "Satan's synagogue," not genuine representatives of the true Israel.[2]

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[1] E. Bickerman in a book review in Gnomon 6 (1930) 359 has argued that the text of the Venetus, "our best manuscript for the books of Maccabees," should be followed at the end of 1 Macc. 15:23; it alone contains the reading "Smyrna" rather than "Cyrene," thus attesting a visit to the city by representatives of Simon Maccabeus in 141 BC; this would indicate contacts between the Smyrneans and the Maccabean government, but says nothing directly about Jews in Smyrna, cf. the summary in Cadoux, Smyrna 144-46.

[2] So Simon, Verus Israel 104 note 7. T. Gaster ("Satan," IDB IV 227) suggests a counterpart from Qumran to the "synagogue of Satan": in the thanksgiving hymn 1QH 2.22 there is a polemical reference to a "congregation of Belial"; as in Revelation, the Qumran text denies that these enemies are of the true Israel.

Ignatius' letter to the Christians of Smyrna was written shortly after the letter in Revelation; he was martyred early in the second century, under Trajan, who ruled until AD 117. Ignatius uses a unique phrase in praising the faith of the Smyrnean Christians; he refers to "(Christ's) saints and believers, whether among the Jews or among the gentiles" (Smyr. 1.2). Here and no where else in his letters he uses the adjective *Ioudaios*; since he had visited the church at Smyrna and knew well its bishop Polycarp, it is likely that his choice of words reflects the makeup of this congregation; both Jews and gentiles are to be found in it.[1]

An inscription of ca. AD 125, a few years after Ignatius' visit, gives further information; it is IGRR IV 1431 (CII 742), reproduced on the following page. It records donations made toward the cost of public buildings, some gifts being unspecified, others designated, e.g. "to pave the royal road of the Nemeseis (-sanctuary) ...for columns for the Palm-grove (a public garden)...to pave the royal road to the bouleterion and to supply bronze for its doors... to gild the roof of the aleipterion of the gerousia and (to provide) ...a new column with base and capital...." Donors include citizens without titles as well as public officials: an *agonothetes*, an Asiarch, two *prytaneis*, a chief-priestess and a *stephanophoros*;

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[1] E. Lohmeyer goes beyond the evidence, however, when he says that the text implies that a majority of the Smyrnean Christians were of Jewish origin, Die Offenbarung des Johannes (HNT no. 16, 1952^{2}) 23. On similar letters to Philadelphia, chapter IV A iv infra.

IGRR IV 1431 (CII 742)

....
....ωρίας
δὲ τὸ δ...... [Εὐ]άρεστος τὸ ζ´,
ἐφ´ οὗ στρατηγοῦντος ὑπέσχόντο
οἵδε· Κλ. Βάσσος ἀγωνοθέτης
Νεμέσεων στρώσειν τὴν βασι-
λικήν· Φοῦσκος ἔργον ποιήσειν
μυ(ριάδων) ζ´· Χερσίφρων Ἀσιάρχης τοὺς
κήπους εἰς τὸν Φοινεικῶνα·
Λούκιος Πομπήιος εἰς τὸν Φοι-
νεικῶνα μυ(ριαδας) ε´ · Λούκιος Βηστεῖνος
τὴν βασιλικὴν στρώσειν
πρὸς τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ χαλ-
κᾶς τὰς θύρας ποιήσειν·
Σμάραγδος πρύτανις ναὸν Τύχης
κατασκευάσειν ἐν τῷ Φοινεικῶ-
νι· Κλαύδιος πρύτανις χρυσώ-
σειν τὸν ὄροφον τοῦ ἀλίπτηρίου
τῆς γερουσίας καὶ [τ]ὸ[ν] εἰς τὸν χα-
ριστήριον νεὼ[ν] κείονα σὺν σπει-
ροκεφάλῳ · Νυμφιδία ἀρχιέρεια,
Κλ. Ἀρτεμύλλα, Κλ. Πώλλα,
Κλαυδία Νεικήτου, Θευδιανὸς
στεφανηφόρος τὸ δεύτερον, Φλ. Ἀσκληπιακή,
Εἰσίδωρος σοφιστής, Ἀντωνία
Μάγνα, Κλ. Ἀρίστιον, Ἀλβιδία
Μάγνα μυ(ριάδα) α´. Κλ. Ἡδεῖα μυ(ριάδα) α´. Κλ. Χάρις
μυ(ριάδα) α´. Κλ. Λεόντιον μυ(ριάδα) α´. Κλ. Αὐρηλία
κείονας Κυμβελλείτας σὺν σπειροκεφάλοις εἰς τὸν Φοινει-
κῶνα νβ´· οἱ ποτὲ Ἰουδαῖοι μυ(ριάδα) α´·
Μητρόδωρος
Νεικάνορος Δικηνὸς εἰς
τὸν Φοινεικῶνα δηνάρια ζφ´· Μούρδιος
Καικιλιανὸς μυ(ριάδας) β´· καὶ ὅσα ἐπετύ-
χομεν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Καίσαρος
Ἁδριανοῦ διὰ Ἀντωνίου Πολέμω-
νος· δεύτερον δόγμα συνκλήτου,
καθ´ ὃ δὶς νεωκόροι γεγόναμεν,
ἀγῶνα ἱερόν, ἀτέλειαν, θεολόγους,
ὑμνῳδούς, μυριάδας ἑκατὸν
πεντήκοντα, κείονας εἰς τὸ
ἀλειπτήριον Συνναδίους [ο]β´,
Νουμεδικοὺς κ´, πορφυρείτας ζ´·
κατασκευάσθη δὲ καὶ ἡ ἡλιοκά-
μεινος ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ὑπὸ Σέξτου
ἀρχιερέως.

also listed are οἱ ποτὲ Ἰουδαῖοι (29) who make an unspecified gift of a thousand drachmas. The latter part of the text records the lavish gifts of the emperor Hadrian.

The inscription is clearly a public record, honoring those who have made gifts to the city; it is an official document, dated as such in the opening lines. The Smyrneans listed have one thing in common: they are benefactors of the city. Nevertheless, the three words *hoi pote Ioudaioi* are invariably lifted out of context: "the former Jews" are suspected of having renounced their religion and the inscription is used as evidence to prove some apostasy in the local Jewish community.[1] This is totally to misread the evidence, which has a political explanation rather than a religious one. The Smyrnean notable who set up this inscription probably also chose the wording; the contribution of the *Ioudaioi* is small (as a group they give no more than what some individuals have given) and perhaps for this reason their names are not listed, a brief label for the group written instead. Judea is the name commonly used for Palestine, cf. the *Judaea capta* coins issued after the fall of Jerusalem in AD 70; it would be only natural for a Smyrnean official to use the same word for people who had come from Judea and were "formerly Judeans." The use of Ioudaioi in IGRR IV 1431 thus reflects the same ambivalence of which another Anatolian complains, the historian Dio Cassius; referring to "Palestine," he says:

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[1] The three words *hoi pote Ioudaioi* are frequently discussed, though never (to my knowledge) with a full description of the remainder of the text; see most recently Frend, Martyrdom 148 note 47 ("outright apostasy"), Kittel, "Kleinas. Judentum" 14 and the references given in Cadoux, Smyrna 348 with note 2. CII 742 contributes to the problem by printing but five words of the 45-line text.

> This is the name that has been given from of old to the whole country extending from Phoenicia to Egypt along the inner sea. They also have another name that they have acquired: the country has been named Judaea and the people themselves Jews (Ioudaioi). I do not know how this title came to be given them, but it applies also to all the rest of mankind, although of alien race, who affect their customs. This class exists even among the Romans, and though often repressed has increased to a very great extent and has won its way to the right of freedom in its observances....[1]

"The former Judeans" of IGRR IV 1431 demonstrate their loyalty to Smyrna by means of their gift; for Jews who wished to remain on the good side of the gentile population, such a gesture was particularly wise in an age when less friendly Jews were known to have revolted and slaughtered their Gentile neighbors (Cyprus and Cyrene, ca. AD 116), when the suppression of these revolts under Trajan and Hadrian had occasioned bloody counter-massacres of Jews, and when the tense situation in Palestine itself was escalating toward the full-fledged war of AD 132-35.[2] These

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[1] 37.16.5 - 17.1, trans. E. Cary in the Loeb ed. See Georgi's differentiation of Ioudaios, Hebraios and Israelites, Gegner, 51-63; he states, 51, that to Gentiles Ioudaios is the most common, least mysterious and impressive of the three. Georgi refers to earlier discussions of the terms, but omits this Dio Cassius passage and IGRR IV 1431, texts which would have been useful additions to his evidence.

[2] Cary, History of Rome 648f. and R. P. Longden in CAH XI 249-51.

"former Judeans" in Smyrna were disassociating themselves from such violence; their gift indicates their desire to be friendly, even benevolent members of the community. That the inscription was erected to display an "apostasy" is highly unlikely; a public document listing *inter alia* a decision of the city council (cf. *dogma*, line 37) is hardly the place to record one's rejection of a religion formerly held.

iii

Jews play a significant part in the traditional history of the Christian church at Smyrna, as it is reflected in the "Martyrdom of Polycarp" (= Mart. Poly.), the "Martyrdom of Pionios" (= Mart. Pion.) and the "Life of Polycarp" (= Vita). Polycarp was martyred ca. AD 155, Pionios in the Decian persecution ca 250; the Vita was written ca. 400.[1] The references to the Jews in these texts are as follows.

In the Mart. Poly. Jews cry out along with gentiles against Polycarp: "This is the...destroyer of our gods (!), who teaches many neither to offer sacrifice nor to worship," 12.2. "The Jews were extremely zealous, as is their custom, in assisting..." to gather wood for Polycarp's pyre, 13.1. They pressure the governor into burning Polycarp's corpse completely, "lest...they leave the crucified one and begin to worship this man," 17.2, cf. 17-18.

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[1] In the voluminous literature on these texts the following should be singled out: von Campenhausen, "Bearbeitungen" and "Polykarp"; Lightfoot, Apostolic Fathers II.1 and 3; H. Delehaye, Passions, 11-59 ("L'hagiographie de Smyrne"); Gregoire, Persecutions; P. Meinhold, "Polykarpos," RE 21 (1952) 1662-93. The limitations of Frend, Martyrdom on the topic will be discussed below. The dates are disputed: Gregoire (Persecutions 108-14) and von Campenhausen ("Bearbeitungen" 288f.) argue that both Polycarp and Pionios died under Marcus Aurelius.

In the Mart. Pion. Pionios makes two speeches[1] about the apostasy of a number of Christians during persecution; both concern themselves extensively with the Jews. The first is public, delivered in the agora (Mart. Pion. 4): Pionios defends the lapsi with OT examples of the weakness of the Jews, who fell into idol-worship or rejected God for the deities of their neighbors; the defense then turns into an attack on deceitful Smyrnean Jews--Pionios recommends that to learn the Jews' true nature the gentiles present go to the books of Judges, Kings, Exodus "and all (the books) in which they are rebuked," 4.12.

The second speech, 12.3 - 14.6, is addressed to the Christians who visit Pionios in prison: the first section is a cento of biblical quotations (from the OT Apocrypha as well as from the OT and NT) describing their present gloomy state and affirming the power of God to deliver them, 12.3-16. The remaining two-thirds of the text is devoted to the Jews. Chapter 13 warns: "I hear that the Jews are calling some of you into the synagogues; watch out lest a more serious, voluntary sin befall you--lest someone commit the unforgivable sin which is blasphemy against the Holy Spirit...." 13.1. Apparently the Smyrnean synagogues were open to Christians on occasion: this would not be unusual, since in the Diaspora "the primary method of Jewish propaganda was the synagogue service and the explanation of the Torah which took place there."[1] Pionios is aware of this and wishes the Christians to have no part of it.

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[1] The Greek text is that of Knopf-Krueger-Ruhbach, Ausgewaehlte Maertyrerakten (1965^4) 45-57; the speeches are translated in Cadoux, Smyrna 382-84, 390-93.

The remainder of chapter 13 and all of 14 are devoted to advice on how to answer the Jewish charge that Jesus had died a suicide: "Let them answer us! What suicide has filled the whole world with his disciples? (13.4)...They claim that necromancy was practiced and Christ raised from the dead with his cross.[2] But what writing, theirs or ours, says that about Christ?" 13.8f. The Jews were also countering the story of Christ's resurrection with that of the medium of Endor (1 Sam. 28) who raised the dead Samuel at Saul's request; "since childhood I've heard the Jews telling that lie, as if it had just happened!" 14.1. The remainder of chapter 14 is devoted to showing that Samuel was not raised, but that "the angels of apostasy" tricked Saul into thinking that Samuel had appeared to him. The chapter ends: "But if you cannot use these answers on them (the Jews), just tell them, 'In any case, we are better than you who committed adultery and idolatry without being compelled to do so'," 14.15.

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[1] Georgi, Gegner 37. The Jews may have wished to persuade the Christians to avoid persecution by submitting, but the suggestion of Parkes (Conflict 139) that Christians were thus offered "the shelter of Judaism during the persecution" is unlikely (but cf. Simon, Verus Israel 153f.).

[2] Is this last phrase related to a tradition which occurs also in the apocryphal Gospel of Peter? According to the Gospel of Peter 10:39 (Hennecke, Apocrypha I 186), the soldiers, centurian and elders on guard at Jesus' tomb see "three men coming out from the sepulchre, and two of them sustaining the other, and a cross following them...."

That section of the Vita[1] which is extant contains one major reference to the Jews, chapter 28f.: when a large fire broke out in Smyrna and could not be extinguished, "the Jews also came down under pretense of being able to extinguish it, since they always present themselves uninvited at a fire: for they assert that conflagrations cannot possibly be stopped in any other way but by their presence. This is an artifice of theirs to plunder the property in the houses." The mayor then recalls that Polycarp had once freed his servant of a demon when Jewish magic had failed; Polycarp is summoned and, "standing before us all and looking up into heaven said some words or other, and forthwith the flame gathering into a ball and paying respect, I know not how, to his voice sunk down into itself" (Lightfoot's translations).

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[1] See Lightfoot, Apostolic Fathers III.3. 433-65 (Greek text) and 488-506 (translation). Cadoux, Smyrna 306 note 1 gives a detailed survey of the arguments for and against the authenticity of this text; he decided in its favor, as does B. Streeter, The Primitive Church (1929), Appendix A: Pionios' Life of Polycarp, 265-72. The Vita is however a later composition, as is made clear by a comparison with the Mart. Poly. and the Mart. Pion., and with the developing hagiography of the late Imperial and early Byzantine periods, so H. von Campenhausen, "Polykarp," RGG^3 5 (1961) 449; J. Quasten, Patrology I (1962) 79; Lightfoot, Apostolic Fathers II.3 427-31; Delehaye, Passions 24f., 54 (summary of his reasons for his dating); P. Meinhold, "Polykarpos," RE 21 (1952) 1681 with the literature there cited.

These three texts make up the extant "Smyrnean hagiography,"[1] the traditional account of the apostolic foundation and early history of the church of that city; in the same way as the church in Rome sees itself as beginning with the apostle Peter (and continuing with Clement), the church in Smyrna traced its origins to the apostle John (who makes Polycarp his successor).[2] The three texts represent different stages in the development of this traditional history,[3] from the restrained narrative of the Mart. Poly., to the later Mart. Pion. to the often fantastic accounts of the still later Vita, a typical piece of early Byzantine hagiography.

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[1] The discussion of these texts in Delehaye, Passions, is entitled "L'hagiographie de Smyrne."

[2] P. Meinhold, "Polykarpos," RE 21 (1952) 1671, cf. 1669-73 where Meinhold summarizes the development of the Smyrnean tradition as reflected in texts additional to the three of concern here. J. Keil has used epigraphic evidence to show how competition for supremacy and highest honor among Asian cities was intense under the Empire and continued uninterrupted into the Byzantine period; one powerful means of asserting the primacy of a church or bishopric (and thus one of the motives for preserving and embellishing accounts of its early history) was to "prove" its derivation from an apostle, see J. Keil, "Johannes von Ephesus und Polykarpos von Smyrna," in Strena Buliciana: Commentationes Gratulatoriae Francisco Bulić... ed. M. Abramić and V. Hoffiler (1924) 367-72. One of the indications of the lateness of the Vita Polycarpi is that it has the Smyrnean church founded not by John but by Paul (Vita 1-2).

[3] Delehaye, Passions 15-46, traces the growth of this tradition, which includes Pionios because he is the traditional final editor of the Mart. Poly. (cf. Mart. Poly. 22.3) and because his death is clearly seen as an imitatio Polycarpi, e.g. in Mart. Pion. 2.1.

Neither of the first two texts has gone unaltered: the Mart. Poly. has been rewritten and expanded at perhaps three stages, so von Campenhausen; the Mart. Pion. has at base an autobiographical document and some fragments of interrogation and trial narratives, but with editorial supplement, as Delehaye has shown.[1] Nevertheless, behind the work of their editors trustworthy elements with their roots in the early history of the Smyrnean church are evident in the Mart. Poly. and the Mart. Pion. and they indicate frequent Jewish-Christian contact in Smyrna in the second and third centuries.

It is this latter point which makes the Mart. Poly. and the Mart. Pion. unique among the early martyr-acts; the other accounts seldom mention Jews. The older view (revived by Frend) [illegible]t Jews were a major factor in many of the earlier persecutions has been shown to be inaccurate; it resulted from a failure to recognize that the anti-Jewish references in later accounts of martyrdom were the product of apologetic and popular theology which does not become prevalent until the early Byzantine period, too late to be the cause of the references to Jews in the Mart. Poly. and the Mart. Pion.[1]

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[1] For the stages of the redaction of the Mart. Poly., see the summary in von Campenhausen, "Bearbeitungen" 291f.; the references to the Jews are from the earliest stage. In the same article (290), he challenges the historical value of the Mart. Pion.; Gregoire, "Les martyres" 74ff., takes a similar position, but Delehaye has shown that generally reliable accounts lie behind the present text. His argument is too detailed for summary here, see Delehaye, Passions 26-33, esp. 29f. L. Robert is preparing an edition of the Mart. Pion. for the series Sources Chrétiennes in which he promises a detailed commentary, including epigraphic and numismatic evidence, and a discussion of the Jewish community of AD 250, cf. Hellenica XI-XII (1960) 262 note 9 and his "Recherches épigraphiques," REA 62 (1960) 319 note 9, a vigorous attack on Gregoire's dating (to which Gregoire's "Les martyres" is a reply).

By the time of the Vita this anti-Jewish tendency is becoming attached to some of the major themes of the later martyr-acts. For example, if a martyrdom is to be depicted as an imitatio Christi, the Jews should be given a part to play in it as they do in the NT accounts of the death of Christ. Or if the Church is to make its peace with the Roman Empire, it will naturally play down Roman participation in the crucifixtion and thus be forced to magnify the role of the Jews; concomitantly, the image of Pontius Pilate in later Christian literature brightens considerably, he becomes less and less blameworthy, more and more "Christian."[1]

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[1] Reviewers have pointed out that a major methodological error in Frend, Martyrdom, is his magnification of the role of the Jews in the persecutions of Christians; as he sees it, "in the study of the persecutions the Jews, Christians and authorities have an equal part in the drama," 168. Quoting this sentence in his review of Frend in JRS 56 (1966) 231-36, F. Millar states, "The most serious (defect) in fact concerns the Jews, who on his view play a central role in the story until the mid-third century," 232. Millar then proceeds (232-34) to identify and refute examples of this flaw. In the process he also commits an error of his own, that of oversimplification, stating "the main stream of the development of Judaism now lay first in Aramaic-speaking Palestine and then, from the third century, in the old-established community of Babylonia," 233; if "main stream" be defined on the basis of the quantity of literary remains extant, he is correct, but the archeological and epigraphic evidence indicates a number of Jewish centers in the period Frend discusses, Rome above all and Asia Minor as well. G. de Ste Croix, in a review in JTS 18 (1967) 217-21, also points out that in Frend's book "the role of the Jews in the persecutions is distinctly exaggerated"; he recommends Simon's treatment as "more accurate," 220.

It is not clear why Smyrna alone should preserve Christian documents which contain early and often reliable information about its local Jewish community; other early Christian centers produced texts still extant which are contemporary with the Mart. Poly. and the Mart. Pion., but local Jews are not mentioned in them. Perhaps the Jews and Christians of Smyrna were in unusually close contact; perhaps the Jewish population was unusually large or powerful. In any case, from these two texts (see the summary at the beginning of this section) the following picture of Jewish-Christian relations in Smyrna emerges: The Jews did not cause the prosecution of Christians, but willingly joined in once the harassment of Christians had begun (Mart. Poly. 12.2, 13.1, 18.1, implied in Mart. Pion. passim, cf. 3.6f.); the antagonism is not described as an official position of the Jewish community or its leaders, but rather that of hostile Jewish individuals in the crowd.[2] On some occasions Jews had invited Christians into their synagogues (Mart. Pion. 13.1), perhaps in an attempt to persuade them to abandon their beliefs or at least to "bend" sufficiently to avoid martyrdom. Theological arguments against Christianity included the claim that Jesus committed suicide and that he was resuscitated by necromancy (Mart. Pion. 13), and that what the Christians claimed for him had already been accomplished in the OT in the revivification of Samuel. (Mart. Pion. 14).

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[1] The imitatio Christi emphasis occurs as early as the "post-Eusebian" redaction of the Mart. Poly. itself, and frequently thereafter, so von Campenhausen, "Bearbeitungen" 257ff. On the rehabilitation of Pilate, many examples in Bauer, Leben Jesu 187ff. See also Parkes, Conflict 125-50, and Simon, Verus Israel 144-54. Some of these later "anti-Jewish" references need not have been malicious; if, in the attempt to depict Pilate favorably, "the Jews" are shown unfavorably, the motive on occasion could have been solely to protect and favor Romans, not to slander Jews.

[2] So Parkes, Conflict 136-40, and Simon, Verus Israel 152.

I have omitted the stories in the Vita from this summary since, by the time of its composition, the contest in magic which it depicts (28f.) is a stock theme of anti-Jewish polemic. While the Vita is historically worthless as far as Polycarp's time is concerned, it does show that the Smyrnean Jews continue to play a major role in the "history" of the church of Smyrna, as embellished, developed and romanticized in the post-Constantinian Empire. Frequent Jewish-Christian contacts in Smyrna had been reliably attested in the Revelation of John, Ignatius' letter and the two martyr-acts; further "references" to these Jews were thus required in the Vita.

iv

The epigraphic evidence for a synagogue in Smyrna has been discussed by Goodenough[1] on the basis of four inscriptions, CII 739 = CIG 9897, CII 740 = CIG 9898, CII 741 = IGRR IV 1452 and

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[1] Symbols II 79-81.

SIG^3 1247 note (not in CII). The last two are straight-forward funerary inscriptions of two officers of the Jewish community: SIG^3 1247 note is that of a γραμματεὺς[1] τοῦ ἐν Ζμύρνῃ λαοῦ and CII 741 that of "the Jewess Rouphina, an *archisynagagos*" (discussed infra, section v). CII 739 and 740, however, are dedications from the synagogue building itself. The donor in CII 739 is "Irenopoios, *presbyteros* and father of the tribe (πατὴρ τοῦ στέμ⟨μ⟩ατος);" the latter title is not found in full elsewhere, but since "fathers" (and "mothers") of a synagogue are well known, *stem(m)a* here should be translated "community" or "synagogue-community."[2] Neither Irenopoios nor his father Jacob (who is also mentioned in CII 739) ranked higher than *presbyteros*, a title usually considered too common to record on a tombstone; "father" here as usually is an honorary title given to benefactors rather than a designation of an actual office in the community.

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[1] On *grammateus*, Leon, Jews of Ancient Rome 183-86. This inscription was considered "problématique" by Juster, Juifs I 189 note 12 (cf. Goodenough, Symbols II 79 note 56), but the phrase "the *laos* (people) in Smyrna" shows it to be Jewish, so Robert, Hellenica XI-XII (1960) 259-62 (full discussion) and Kittel, "Kleinas. Judentum" 13 note 35.

[2] On "fathers" and "mothers" of synagogues, Leon, Jews of Ancient Rome 186-88; Juster, Juifs I 448f., and most recently and fully, Hengel, "Synagogeninschrift von Stobi" 176-81. Lifshitz, Donateurs 23 translates *stemma* here as "community." CII 740 is fragmentary, but may have once been a part of CII 739; Goodenough mentions it only in a footnote, Symbols II 81 note 67 ("a few words, in themselves meaningless"), cf. Robert, "Bull. épigr." 1954, no. 24 (the name preserved is not Dosa, as CII would have it, but Dosas) and Lifshitz, Donateurs 23.

Irenopoios' gift consisted of "the paving of the είσοτικόν with the σκαμνοκάνκελοι . Neither *eisotikon* nor *skamnokankeloi* appear in other Jewish inscriptions, but Goodenough took the former as "some sort of inner chamber" or "chancel" and the latter as the "special seats" or "chancel benches" within it.[1] However, on the basis of Robert's study of architectural terms with the root *cancellus* (*kankellos*), it is more probable that the *skamnokankeloi* were grills or balustrades; Frey and Lifshitz follow Kohl-Watzinger in understanding the word in CII 739 to indicate "the balustrade separating the elders' seats from the rest of the assembly hall," thus the *eisotikon* is probably the hall itself.[2]

The Smyrna synagogue thus had some features now known to be duplicated at Sardis, where the synagogue apse with its three semi-circular benches was divided from the main hall by a balustrade, the cuttings for which are still in evidence. CII 739 ends with the Hebrew word *shalom*, not uncommon in Jewish inscriptions in Greek, and attested also at Sardis.[3]

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[1] Symbols II 81.

[2] The quotation is from Lifshitz, Donateurs 23, cf. Kohl-Watzinger 141. Robert's study is in Hellenica IX (1950) 47-49; he does not mention the Smyrna inscription.

[3] On the balustrade, BASOR 174 (1964) 32. *Shalom* is read by B. Mazar in Sardis inscription IN 62.65, cf. Kroll, "Preliminary Catalogue," part V.

CII 739 is dated by Lifshitz to the fourth century AD; since the paving given by Irenopoios could have been part of the original equipment of the synagogue or a later refurbishing, it is impossible to date the building itself, which might have been standing at the time of Ignatius' visit or Polycarp's martyrdom, or could be a much later construction.[1]

V

Rouphina the archisynagagos (CII 741, "not earlier than the third century") is one of four important women in the Anatolian Jewish inscriptions. The only other woman archisynagogos known in ancient Judaism is Theopempte (CII 756, sixth century?) from Myndus, Caria (35 miles south of Miletus); a Tation (CII 738) is honored for her gifts to the synagogue at Phocaea (30 miles northwest of Smyrna) and a city official, Julia Severa, constructed a synagogue for the Jewish community at Acmonia, Phrygia (CII 766, first century AD).[2] The title Rouphina and Theopempte bear will be discussed in Chapter III; the present concern is rather with the high positions occupied by some women in Anatolian society and the place of women in Anatolian religion.

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[1] For the date, Lifshitz, Donateurs 23.

[2] Discussed infra, 74 . The date for CII 741 is that of S. Reinach, "Inscription grecque de Smyrne. La juive Rufina," REJ 7 (1883) 162, cf. H. Leclercq, "Judaisme," DACL 8 (1928) 253, "ca. third century." The date of CII 756 is that of C. Diehl, quoted by Reinach in "La pierre de Myndos," REJ 42 (1901) 1 note 2, cf. Goodenough, Symbols I 79 (unaccountably makes Theopempte a male) and III 883 (a picture of the stone).

The inscriptions of the Imperial period attest that the following public offices in Asia Minor were held on occasion by women: stephanophoros, prytanis, demiourgos, dekaprotos, hipparchos, archon, gymnasiarchos, agonothetis and timouchos; some, e.g. the Julia Severa just mentioned, also were responsible for the coinage of their cities and stamped their names on local money.[1]

Anatolian Christianity of the Imperial period had a number of women among its leadership: the Montanist prophetesses Priscilla and Maximilla, and the heroine of the Acta Pauli, Thekla, who baptizes, teaches and preaches, functions usually assigned to men in the early Church.[2] Less clear figures are the prophetess called "Jezebel"[3] at Thyateira, Lydia (Rev. 2:20), Ammia of Philadelphia, Lydia (Eusebius, HE 5.17.2-4), and the four daughters of the apostle Philip, prophetesses who are said to have spent their last years at Hierapolis, Phrygia (Polycrates of Ephesus apud Eusebius, HE 3.31.4). According to Irenaeus (Haer. 1.13), the Anatolian

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[1] The list of offices is from Paris, Feminae...in Asia Minore, 68-77 as supplemented by Magie, Roman Rule, 1518f.

[2] On the background of the Montanist prophetesses, P. de Labriolle, La Crise Montaniste (1913) 23-26. The fourth-century heresiologist Epiphanius mentions also the Quintilliani, a branch of the Montanists, among whom women preach and administer the sacraments, Leipoldt, Die Frau 129f. The Acta Pauli derives from Asia Minor, second half of the second century, see W. Schneemelcher, "The Acts of Paul," in Hennecke, Apocrypha II 351 and W. Kuemmel, "Paulusakten," RGG 5 (1961) 193f., and for a more precise attempt at location, Ramsay, Church in the Roman Empire, 375ff.

[3] Discussed in detail infra, 161f.

Gnostic, Marcus, allowed women to preach ("prophesy") and participate in the celebration of the sacrament.[1]

Two Christian servent-women (ancillae) mentioned by the younger Pliny (Ep. 10.96) perhaps also belong on this list; he had them interrogated and tortured in an effort to gain information about the local Christian group, but they stubbornly withheld all information--"nihil aliud inveni, quam superstitionem pravem, immodicam." Pliny had encountered a number of Christians but male officials are not mentioned; since he desired specific information about church practices, he might be expected to question the leaders of the Bithynian Christians if he could lay hands on them. These two women thus may have held positions of authority.

In the second century a number of Church leaders find it necessary to define clearly the attitude and status of Christian women. In a letter to the congregation at Philippi, Polycarp of Smyrna recommends that wives and widows be taught submissiveness and discretion (Polycarp, Phil. 4.2f.). The Pastoral Letters and I Peter, also from Asia Minor,[1] are quite specific and direct: "I permit no woman to teach or to have authority over men; she is to keep silent" (1 Tim. 2:12, cf. 2:9-15; Tit. 2:3-5; I Pet. 3:1-6). By the testimony of the Pastorals and Polycarp's letter, what Koester calls "the 'conservative' theology of Asia Minor" included a position on the status of women which may have been at variance with the attitudes of much of the population; the Montanists and Marcus are more in line with local custom and opinion, and the Acta Pauli is an attempt to deprive the conservative Pastorals of the authority of the name of Paul, and swing the great apostle's prestige to the support of an "emphatically feminist" position.[2]

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[1] Leipoldt, Die Frau 130f. Gnostic circles included a number of women, e.g. Philoumene, the young woman who "converted" Apelles (Eusebius, HE 5.13.2); Simon Magus' Helen (Irenaeus, Haer. 1.23.2-4); the Mary of the "Gospel of Mary," cf. R. Grant, Gnosticism and Early Christianity (1966²) 192-96; the recipient of Ptolemy's "Letter to Flora," not to mention the ubiquitous Sophia, cf. H. Jonas, The Gnostic Religion (1963²) 174-205 (on Flora 192f.). Their numbers and their stature indicate something of the nature of Gnosticism's attractiveness and suggest a major reason for its eventual exclusion from the organized Church; the topic of "women and Gnosticism" thus deserves a separate study of its own (cf. Nilsson GGR II 619-21), but what is germane to the present subject is the possibility that Marcus reflects Anatolian (not Gnostic) custom in allowing and encouraging women to assume positions of leadership.

What some sectors of Anatolian Christianity opposed, the Jews were prepared to live with. In first-century Acmonia the synagogue bore the name of a gentile woman; MAMA VI 264 (= CII 766) begins, "The house (oikos) erected by Julia Severa...." and continues with a description of a later remodeling of the building in which she plays no part, i.e. her name is included only as a part of the title of the building. In Smyrna the "Jewess Rouphina" may well have born the title archisynagagos (CII 741) in her own right; Krauss argued that she had simply been given the title of her husband, but her husband is nowhere mentioned on the stone.[1] Perhaps the title was honoris causa, in recognition of contributions to the Jewish community and its synagogue; this would make her the counterpart of Julia Severa and Tation of Phocaea with one exception: the Smyrna inscription (which is fully intact) is the only one of the three to mention no benefaction. Some reference to her contributions to the Jewish community is to be expected if they are the reason for which the title was conferred.

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[1] H. von Campenhausen has argued that Polycarp himself is the author of the Pastorals, "Polykarp von Smyrna" 197ff., especially 202f. on the relation of the Pastoral Letters, Polycarp and I Peter.

[2] On the "conservative" theology of Asia Minor, see H. Koester, "Gnomai Diaphoroi," 306-18, especially 317f. On the much-discussed problem of the status of women in the early Church, see generally K. Stendahl, The Bible and the Role of Women (1966), especially 28-32; more specifically on the Pastorals, E. Kaehler, Die Frau in den paulinischen Briefen (1960) 141ff., especially her summary, 168-71. Useful surveys appear in Leipoldt, Die Frau 123-39 and especially A. von Harnack, Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums (1924^4) 589-611, on the great numbers of women attracted to Christianity of all types ("heretical" as well as "orthodox") in the Imperial period; the characterization of the Acta Pauli as "dezidiert feministisch" is Harnack's, 598.

The reason the Jews of Phocaea honor Tation is explicitly stated in CII 738, as are the honors themselves: she built and paid for the synagogue with its peristyle courtyard[2] and was honored with a gold crown and prohedria. No title is awarded.

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[1] Krauss, Syn. Alter. 118, cf. the discussion in Goodenough, Symbols II 80.

[2] On the architecture, H. Leclercq, "Hypaetre," DACL 6 (1923) 2928-32; Robert, "Inscriptions...de Side" 46f. Krauss, Syn. Alter. 231 silently alters the Greek text of this inscription to make Tation a male, although he refers to her as a woman on 164 in his discussion of prohedria; this is particularly odd since on 231 he gives as his sources Reinach's articles on the text, in which the matter of a female archisynagagos is fully discussed.

The crown and prohedria are familiar honors in the ancient world,[1] and both are taken over by the Jews of the Imperial period; the crown appears frequently in Jewish art and the custom of bestowing crowns is referred to in the Jewish inscriptions IGRR I 1024 (Berenike, Cyrenaica, first century BC) and CII 777 (Hierapolis, Phrygia, see Chapter III D).[2] The desire of certain Jews for "chief seats" in the synagogue is attacked by Jesus in the Synoptics (Mt. 23:6 par., Lk. 11:43).[3] Had Tation received her honor in Sardis instead of Phocaea, she doubtless would have taken her place in the synthronon, the seats in the great apse of the synagogue, and faced the rest of the community over the "eagle table."[4]

If women in Asia Minor are allowed a higher status than elsewhere, the cause is probably linked to the predominance of female divinities in Anatolian religions, e.g. the Great Mother, the "Mother of Gods," Cybele and a host of "mother" (*meter*) deities such as Meter Anaitis, Meter Leto and Meter Hypta, whose worship spreads westward to Athens and to Rome in the Hellenistic period and even earlier.[1] The influence and cult of such a deity often extend for centuries, with a number of examples to be found in the Imperial period.[2] Keil and Ramsay suggested that the early and widespread veneration of the Virgin Mary in Asia Minor is due in part to the sympathetic environment created by these pre-Christian customs and concerns.[3]

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[1] Cf. W. Eisenhut, "Corona," Kleine Pauly I (1964) 1322f.; Fensterbusch, "Prohedria," RE 23 (1957) 114f. and Krauss, Syn. Alter. 163f.

[2] On the crown as "a pagan symbol in Judaism," see the long discussion in Goodenough, Symbols VII 148-71.

[3] The NT does not use prohedria but rather prokathedria, see the article s.v. by W. Michaelis, TW VI 871f. Unfortunately, Michaelis does not mention CII 738 (Tation) or IGRR I 1024, nor does Goodenough, although he discusses CII 777 in Symbols VII 151f. On the Berenike inscription, see Krauss, Syn. Alter. 162f. (he cites it as CIG 5361).

[4] On the synthronon, cf. Goodenough, Symbols XII 193 and the discussion infra 230-32.

Some attempt has been made to link all these bits of evidence to a very early, matriarchal social system,[4] with inconclusive results. Whatever the reason, the evidences of this Anatolian peculiarity are widespread, leading Ramsay long ago to conclude that "the most striking feature...in the native religion and society of Asia Minor" is "the important part played by women."[1] That this characteristic appears among Anatolian Jews and Christians should not have been surprising; more examples of it are to be expected from future finds.[2]

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[1] Scores of sites in Asia Minor, not to mention other areas; see the following summary lists: for Lydia, Keil, "Kulte Lydiens" 250-61; more generally, Schwenn, "Kybele," RE 11 (1922) 2283ff. and W. Drexler, "Meter," RL II (1897) 2854ff. On the expansion of the cult of the Great Mother to Greece, Nilsson, GGR I 725-28.

[2] A striking example of the endurance of such a cult is the representation of an image of a goddess (probably known as "the Kore of Sardis") which appears on a capital from the south hall of Sardis building "B", immediately west of the synagogue complex. The capital is from the second century AD; the image on it represents a *xoanon* which might have been half a millenium older, or (equally well) an archaistic imitation created in the Imperial period in connection with a renewed interest in the goddess' cult. The capital was published by G. Hanfmann and M. Balmuth, "The Image of an Anatolian Goddess at Sardis," in In Memoriam Helmuth Theodor Bossert, ed. U. B. Alkim (Jahrbuch fuer kleinasiatische Forschung II, Istanbul Edebiyat Fakueltesi, 1965) 262-69.

[3] J. Keil, "Asia," RAC I 748 and W. Ramsay, "The Worship of the Virgin Mary at Ephesus," Pauline and Other Studies (1906) 124-60.

[4] Tarn, Hellenistic Civilization 138f. with the literature there cited.

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[1] Ramsay, Church in the Roman Empire 457.

[2] CII 743 has not been mentioned in this section, although Frey includes with the texts from Smyrna; it will be discussed in the section on Ephesian magic, just below.

i

Ephesus is the best known of the Jewish communities in Asia, thanks to frequent references in Josephus;[1] the major text is AJ 16.27-65, an account of a hearing before M. Vipsanius Agrippa, Augustus' deputy for the eastern part of the Empire. The location is Ephesus itself in all probability,[2] the plaintiffs Ionian Jews; Herod the Great, Agrippa's good friend and frequent companion, sat at his side. The Jews charged that Ionians had hindered them from observing their ancestral laws, blocked the money sent as their offerings for Jerusalem, and forced upon them military and civic duties from which they were ordinarily exempt (16.27f.); a brief summary of the same hearing (12.125f.) adds that the Ionians had petitioned Agrippa to deprive the Jews of equal status with them, since the Jews did not worship the Ionians' gods.[3] Agrippa's decision was favorable to the Jews, as his letter to Ephesian officials indicates, 16.167. In the course of the Jews' argument the point is made that their rights were given them by Antiochus III in the mid-third century BC (12.125), indicating that Jews were in Ephesus and Ionia elsewhere early in the Hellenistic period. That the Ephesian Jews were exempt from conscription as early as the mid-first century BC is indicated in the series of decrees in AJ 14.223-30, 234, 237-40. Two Ephesian Jews (probably Roman citizens) are known from inscriptions of the second-third centuries AD: the priest Markos Mussios (CII 746 as reedited by Robert) and the archiatros Io(lios?, CII 745), both of whom put their graves under the care of the Jewish community.[1] Perhaps because of Ephesus' known Jewish population Irenaeus in Haer. 3.23 makes Theodotion (the traditional source of the "Theodotionic" translation of the OT into Greek) an Ephesian; however, if Irenaeus was by birth a Smyrnean, his account of Theodotion's origin may be correct.[2]

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[1] Ephesus is covered both in the classical and in the biblical reference works and dictionaries; individual monographs include F. Miltner, Ephesos (1958) and J. Keil, Fuehrer durch Ephesos (1964^5), the best one-volume guide to the site (bibliography on the excavations, 8f.). See also for the Christian city Schultze, Staedte II.2 86-120 and Ramsay, Letters 210-50, and for the Jewish evidence (chiefly Josephus), I. Elbogen, "Ephesos," EJ 6 (1930) 682-84 and S. Krauss, "Ephesus," JE 5 (1903) 185.

[2] See AJ 16.23 and Magie, Roman Rule 479 note 35 on AJ 16.62.

[3] On the question of whether what the Ionians wished to terminate was the citizenship of the Jews, or the special privileges granted them by Rome (cf. AJ 14.262-64), see Ramsay, "Jews in the Graeco-asiatic Cities," 92-95 and R. Marcus' comments in the Loeb edition of Josephus, VII 63, 741f.

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[1] On Mussios, see Robert's radical and convincing reediting of CII 746 in Hellenica XI-XII (1960) 381-84. On the office of archiatros (CII 745), see M. Wellmann s.v., RE 2 (1896) 464-66. On the citizenship of Mussios, Robert 384; as an official of the city the archiatros may well have been a Roman citizen.

[2] On Theodotion, see the brief account and bibliography of A. Juelicher and H. Opitz, "Theodotion," RE 5 (1934) 1952: on the "Theodotionic" text as related to recent finds from Qumran, see F. M. Cross, "The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judean Desert," HTR 57 (1964) 282ff., especially 283 note 11. Irenaeus is thought to have been from Smyrna because he reports that as a boy he had listened to Polycarp of Smyrna, Eusebius, HE 5.20.5-7; however, this could have occurred while either Polycarp or Irenaeus was on a journey.

ii

The history of the first two centuries of Christianity in Ephesus includes some contacts with Jews. Koester's reconstruction of the situation ca. AD 100 postulates "several rivaling Christian groups...(1) the originally Pauline church, supported by (2) the Qumran-influenced Paulinist who wrote Ephesians, but also represented by (3) the author of Luke-Acts...(4) a Jewish Christian 'school' engaging in a daring interpretation of the Old Testament, represented by the Gnostic Cerinthus;--(5) a (Jewish Christian) conventicle producing the apocalyptic Revelation of the Christian prophet John."[1] In addition to the differing kinds of Jewish Christianity listed, there is the Palestinian Jew Trypho, who appears (accompanied by Ephesian proselytes) in Justin's Dialogue with Trypho the Jew;[2] he found refuge in Ephesus after the Bar-Kochba revolt.[3]

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[1] Koester, "Gnomai Diaphoroi" 316: his evidence, literary rather than archaeological or epigraphical, is spelled out in 306-18. The article manifests an all too infrequent concern for geographical precision in the explication of the theologies of the developing Church.

[2] Eusebius, HE 4.18.6 locates this discussion in Ephesus and calls Trypho "the most distinguished Jew of the day," but he is clearly not the fiercely anti-Christian Rabbi Tarphon, cf. the useful summary of this question in N. Hyldahl, "Tryphon und Tarphon," ST 10 (1957) 77-88 (on the proselytes, 86f.), Goodenough, Symbols I 43-53, and J. Neusner's "A Life of Rabbi Tarphon, ca. 50-130 C.E.," History and Torah (1965) 76-102, previously printed in Judaica 17 (1961) 141-67.

[3] Rabbi Jose b. Halafta fled to Asia Minor at the same time, and may have come to Ephesus, if this is what אסיא means in the text, Baba Mesia 84a (Babylonian Talmud, Soncino ed., p. 479).

The most bizarre tale of the encounter between Jews and Christians in Ephesus is that told in Acts 19:13-19: "The seven sons of a Jewish high-priest Scaeva," itinerant exorcists, are violently attacked by a demoniac after they had tried to heal him with the magic name, "the Jesus whom Paul preaches"; the "Jews and Greeks" in Ephesus are so impressed and terrified that they bring together a great number of their "magic" books and voluntarily burn them. A number of ideas converge here: the Lukan view of the incompatability of Christianity with magic (specifically, the use of the name "Jesus" in exorcism), the association of Ephesus with

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(continued from preceding page) S. Krauss insists that it stands for Ephesus: "the Rabbis, when referring to Asia, always mean simply Ephesus," "Ephesus," JE 5 (1903) 185; he understands "Asia" to imply "the chief city of (the province) Asia," which he takes to be Ephesus, cf. the parallel in Christian usage given by Ramsay, Letters 238: "The leading city can stand for the whole Province...to the Christians...Ephesus stood for Asia, Asia was Ephesus." A. Neubauer, La Géographie du Talmud (1868) 310 uses the same line of thinking to make Asia mean Sardis, which then becomes in his account the place where the famous rabbi Meir (second century AD) found the community without a copy of the book of Esther for the festival of Purim and wrote one out from memory, Megillah 18b (Babylonian Talmud, Soncino ed., p. 114f.). "Asia" is also the place where rabbi Meir died. Kilaim 9.6 (Jerusalem Talmud, Schwab ed., p. 320); the text states that he wished to be buried by the sea, a simple request at Ephesus, but difficult in inland Sardis. Neubauer is supported in his identifications by F. Hamberger, Real-Encyclopaedia fuer Bibel und Talmud II (1883) 76 (s.v. Asien) and 714f. (s.v. Mair, R.) and by A. Blumenthal, Rabbi Meir (1888), excursus iv, "Asia," 139f. A review of the use of this word in the rabbinic literature indicates however that it has no single, consistent meaning; it designates sometimes the area Asia, sometimes a major city (further identification unclear) within Asia, but sometimes a non-Antolian location, see the summary of J. Gutmann, "Asien," EJ 3 (1929) 516.

the magical *ephesia grammata*, and the Jews' well-known reputation as magicians.[1]

In the Imperial period the *ephesia grammata* were popularly connected with Ephesus and its major goddess Artemis; since the "original" *grammata* were only six words, it is not they specifically which are burned--the Acts account mentions that a great number of *books* were destroyed. However, the *grammata* typified to the popular mind[2] a particularly Ephesian magic of which the books in the Acts account would be considered further examples.[3] The *ephesia grammata* themselves become associated with Jewish and Christian motifs in the third-fourth century "Testament of Solomon," which McCown in his edition assigns to Asia and (hesitatingly) to Ephesus;[4] all that can be said for the Acts text, however, is that Luke for his own theological purposes has associated two themes well-known in antiquity: the connection of Ephesus with magic (particularly, with the grammata) and the Jews' reputation as magicians and exorcists.

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[1] On the text generally, Beginnings IV 240-43 and H. Cadbury, The Book of Acts in History (1955) 94f. On Luke and magic, Conzelmann, Die Apostelgeschichte (1963, HNT vol. 7) 111. On the *ephesia grammata*, see K. Preisendanz, s.v., RAC 5:515-20 and C. McCown, "The Ephesia Grammata in Popular Belief," TAPA 54 (1923) 138-40. On the Jews and magic, Simon, Verus Israel 394-416; Georgi, Gegner 114ff.; Goodenough, Symbols II 153-295; M. Gaster, "Magic (Jewish)," ERE 8 (1916) 300-05, and K. Galling and B. Heller, "Beschwoerung," EJ 4 (1929) 362-66.

[2] And perhaps to Ignatius as well; his only use of the word *mageia* occurs in his letter to the Ephesian congregation, 19:3; with the coming of Christ "all magic was dissolved." But Ignatius may be thinking only of the story behind this text from Acts.

[3] T. Zahn, Die Apostelgeschichte des Lucas, Kommentar zum NT, no. 5, (1927^{3,4}) calls the *grammata* and related exorcism texts "the best commentary to Acts 19:13-16" 683 note 11.

[4] The Testament of Solomon, Untersuchungen zum NT, ed. H. Windisch, no. 9 (1922) 110.

Two magical amulets with Jewish characteristics are ascribed to the Ephesus area. The first, published by J. Keil,[1] has a Greek text on one side, a Hebrew text on the other. The first part of the Greek text is an invocation, with many epithets, of "the ever-living Adonaie" (lines 7f.); the full text is as follows:

Οὐρανοει-
δῆ, {θ} σκοτοειδῆ
θαλασσοειδῆ καὶ παν-
τόμορφε, αἰώνιε, μυριαγω-
5 γέ, χιλιαγωγέ, ἀκατάλημ-
πτε, ὧ μυριάδες ἀνγέλων
παρεστήκασιν, ⟨ἀ⟩ίζων Ἀ-
δωναῖε, ὁ ὢν γὰρ εἶ. Ετ
βος γαρ δακ ας ο {ο} φ
10 ζ ⟨α⟩ ας ταν ιαν χαλ.

The elements of Jewish origin are most clear in the latter lines. "(Thou) whom myriads of angels attend, O ever-living Adonaie, for Thou art the One Who Is" (lines 6-8) is compounded of familiar OT names for God; the first phrase is a periphrasis for "Lord of Hosts" (e.g. 1 Sam. 1:11) and last recalls the self-designation of

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[1] J. Keil, "Amulett."

God given in the LXX as ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὤν (Ex. 3:14). Adonaie is a transcription of the Hebrew אדני "lord".[1]

The most striking part of the Greek text is the last eleven "words," *et*, *bos*, *gar*, etc.; they represent the key to a Hebrew cryptographic scheme called Athbash, a code in which the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet stands for the last letter, the second letter represents the next to the last, and so forth.[2] In the Greek text, the sounds of the Hebrew letters have been transcribed into Greek; on the other side, the corresponding Hebrew letters are evident, although the full Hebrew text cannot be deciphered.

The second amulet bears a menorah and comes "from regions south of Smyrna," i.e. between Smyrna and Ephesus; according to the missionary H. J. Van Lennep,[3] who gives the only first-hand account, this stone and a number of others bear "the same characters" as the only example whose text he gives, CII 743: ϑωβαρραβο υλαϰασϰις αβρασασε ωαωη and on the reverse side ναλη εχεχε Goodenough took Van Lennep's statement to mean that all the stones had identical inscriptions, and that they were all thus Jewish on the evidence of the one stone with the menorah.[1] Abrasase (Abrasax) is no clear sign of Jewish origin, however, and the name Thobarrabo has no Jewish connotations in its few other attestations.[2] Goodenough further suggested that "the fourth word (is)...an attempt to transliterate the sound of 'Yahweh' in Greek letters";[3] this is possible, although such lines of vowels are common in all kinds of magical texts.[4] The stone with the menorah is probably Jewish, the others uncertain.

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[1] See Keil, "Amulett" 80-82 and the two articles by B. W. Anderson, "God names of," IDB II 414f. (on Adonai) and "Lord of Hosts," IDB III 151. As Keil points out, much of the vocabulary in lines 1-8 can be paralleled in non-Jewish, Greco-Roman magical texts.

[2] Keil, "Amulett" 82-84, quoting the interpretation of the stone by L. Blau; also, B. Roberts, "Athbash," IDB I 306f.

[3] Van Lennep, Travels in Little-known Parts of Asia Minor I (1870) 20. In printing the text, CII has omitted the final letter of the fourth line; the text given here is a correct reproduction of Van Lennep (*abrasase*, not *abrasas*). Goodenough, Symbols II 121, has the text correctly.

Athbash is used in the Talmud and later Jewish texts, but it occurs as early as Jeremiah 51:1, 41 (and perhaps 25:26); L. Blau, who assisted Keil with the Hebrew of the first amulet, was not willing to assume a late date for it, and its Greek letters are of a form not uncommon in the Imperial period.[5] The Abrasase (Abrasax) of the Van Lennep amulet was commonly used at the same time; the two stones strongly suggest the presence of Jewish elements in the magic of the Ephesus area at that time.

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[1] Goodenough, Symbols II 221. A reading of Van Lennep's brief account (the book is essentially a travel narrative) makes me doubt that he checked carefully all letters of each stone, and that all the texts were exactly the same.

[2] On Abrasax most recently, K. Preisendanz, s.v., Kleine Pauly I 17f. On Thobarrabo, C. Benner, Studies in Magical Amulets, Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian (1950) 132 note 48.

[3] Symbols II 221.

[4] See F. Dornseiff, "Buchstaben," RAC II 775-78 and the literature there cited.

[5] On the Jeremiah texts, B. Roberts, "Athbash," IDB I 306; on the date of the amulet, Keil, "Amulett" 84, quoting Blau.

In the Imperial period Ephesus was the major city of Asia Minor, and a port city as well, open to immigrant Jews and other travelers; for these reasons a large number of Jewish "small finds" might be expected from the extensive excavations. However, only a few lamps and one glass flask have been identified;[1] like the Jews of Sardis (where clearly Jewish "small finds" are rare outside the synagogue), the Jews of Ephesus left behind few of the distinctive lamps and other personal articles so common in Palestinian excavations. This would indicate that Ephesian Jews (and perhaps most Anatolian Jews, at least in the larger cities) possessed household articles identical to those of their non-Jewish neighbors, just as when disputing with Gentiles (as in Josephus) or with Christians (as in Justin's Dialogue with Trypho), they doubtless displayed the dress and the vocabulary of their Ephesian neighbors.

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[1] These objects (all with menorahs) are discussed by Goodenough. The flask is Symbols III 961 (cf. II 108). The lamps mentioned total four, but his note on them (Symbols II 102 note 16) is so confused as to be useless; Goodenough was apparently misled by his source (Reifenberg) and should be corrected as follows: The final publication is by F. Miltner in Forschungen in Ephesos, veroeffentlicht vom oesterreichischen archaeologischen Institut IV.2 (1937); the four lamps Goodenough mentions are no. 180, p. 114, shown on Tafel II, and three shown on Tafel XII: no. 159, p. 187 and from p. 188, no. 164 (= Symbols III 928) and no. 167 (= Symbols III 929). The confusion arose from the fact that in this publication there are two sections on lamps, each independently numbered; one contains the lamps from the "Siebenschlaefercoemeterium," p. 106-74 and Tafel IX, the other (an "Anhang") collects lamps from various other Ephesian sites, p. 175-99 and Tafel XI-XIV. Finally, a lamp not noticed by Goodenough (or Reifenberg) should be added: no. 1872, p. 172.

CHAPTER III

PHRYGIA

i

Eumeneia, the present-day Isikli, is in the center of the cluster of Phrygian cities of present concern; Acmonia (section B infra) is 25 miles directly north of it, Apameia (section C) the same distance to the southeast, the Lycus Valley cities (section D) ca. 40 miles southwest, and the probable site of the Montanist (section E) center, Pepuza, perhaps 20 miles to the west-southwest. Sardis itself is less than 100 miles west, the road running via Philadelphia.

Eumeneia is often singled out as the Phrygian city in which much of the population (perhaps the majority) in the third century was is Christian.[1] This view is based on the hypothesis (now nearly a century old) that the "Eumeneian" grave-protection formula was originally and almost exclusively Christian.[2] The formula's protasis varies -- "If anyone violate this tomb..." or "If anyone else (other than family members) be buried here..." -- but the curse itself is quite standardized: ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν , "he shall have to reckon with God." For the last word, some substitutions occurred (...the living God,...the great name of God, ...God the judge,...the righteousness of God,...the hand of God, etc.) but these too were assumed to be Christian.[1]

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[1] Generally on Eumeneia: Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics 353-95 and, for the inscriptions 514-32 (cf. 484-513, an introduction to the Christian inscriptions of southwest Phrygia); Schultze, Staedte II.1.461-70; Magie, Roman Rule 127, 984f.; H. Leclercq, "Euménie," DACL 5.1 (1922) 734-44, almost exclusively a discussion of the inscriptions, W. Calder, "Eumeneian Formula" and Robert, Hellenica XI-XII (1960) 398-439 are discussed further below.

[2] In MAMA VII p. xxxvii, Calder says that Ramsay and Duchense made the identification in 1883.

It cannot be doubted that the following examples are Christian: "...he shall reckon with God and Jesus Christ" (MAMA VII 96), "...with the Trinity" (MAMA I 160), or such as MAMA VI 224 (*ichthus* boldly carved below the inscription) and III 347 (*chi-rho*). However, "...he shall reckon with the departed" (TAM III 331, 345, 365, etc.) or "...with Helios and Selene,"[2] are pagan, and CII 769 is surely Jewish: "...he shall reckon with the highest God and the scythe of curse shall enter his house..." (discussed, chapter III B iv infra).

On the basis of the third-century texts which were assuredly Christian, Ramsay and those following him considered the other inscriptions (and much of the population of Eumeneia as well) to be Christian; then, because of the scarcity of fourth-century inscriptions there, Eumeneia was also thought to be the unnamed Phrygian town which (according to Eusebius, HE 8.11.1 and Lactantius, Div. Instit. 5.11.10) was obliterated in the persecution under Diocletian because its population was largely Christian.[1] But other Phrygian towns had substantial Christian populations by the end of the third century; Orcistus, for example, is said in a letter of Constantine to be entirely Christian ca. AD 325 (MAMA VII 305.1, lines 40-42). And Ramsay himself was fond of saying that the persecution under Diocletian struck the educated Christians generally, and so contributed to a general decline in educational standards and literacy levels outside Phrygia as well as within it;[2] that inscriptions become scarce in the fourth century is not then so surprising.

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[1] The supply of these texts continues to increase; Calder ("Eumeneian Formula" 15) implies that "in central or eastern Phrygia" they may be found "at any moment." In 1939 he noted 47 examples from Eumeneia and Apameia alone ("Eumeneian Formula" 22). Ramsay's original list for Eumeneia is in Cities and Bishoprics 514ff.; other lists appear in H. Leclercq, "Euménie," DACL 5.1 (1922) 737-44 and (for outside Phrygia), Schepelern, Montanismus 190 note 354 and Robert, Hellenica XI-XII (1960) 401-03. According to Robert the basic formula (...*pros ton theon*) is standard in Eumeneia, the variations occurring elsewhere.

[2] Robert, Hellenica XI-XII (1960) 399 note 4.

Further, some examples of the formula are definitely Jewish, and other less clear inscriptions might be thought to be as well, particularly since the large Jewish population in this area is attested as early as Cicero (discussed infra, chapter III C i). The criteria of Jewishness were, however, unusually strict; "definite evidence or strong presumption of Jewish origin" must be shown, and Jewish examples are usually seen as "borrowings" or "adaptations" of what was originally Christian.[1] Nevertheless, the apocalyptic emphasis in the various conclusions of the formula is as easily Jewish as Christian, e.g. "God the Judge" (MAMA VI 225), "the living God" (Cities and Bishoprics no. 355f., etc.), "the immortal God" (Cities and Bishoprics no. 388), and "the holy God" (SEG VI 447); texts which refer to a "judgment" (*krisis*) have a close parallel in the third-century Jewish inscription from Nicomedia, Bithynia, which Robert has recently published: ἕξει κρίσιν πρὸς τὸν θεόν .[2] In the absence of a cross, a menorah, or a clearly pagan divine name, Phrygian inscriptions of ca. the third century are difficult to identify as to religion represented: decorations and shapes of stones are often much the same, certain formulaic phrases appear to be used indiscriminately (e.g. "such is life" and "no one is immortal"), and originally pagan formulae may be taken over and only lightly changed (e.g. MAMA VI 377).[1]

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[1] The "massacre under Diocletian" (for which there is no archeological evidence) is often mentioned in descriptions of Eumeneia, cf. Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics 505-09; Leclercq, "Euménie," DACL 5.1 (1922) 736f., and "Phrygie," DACL 14.1 (1939) 805f.; N. H. Baynes in CAH XII 674 (with the apt suggestion that this catastrophe may have been mentioned by both writers just because it was an unparalleled example of cruelty). W. Calder thought the unnamed town might be the Montanist center, Pepuza, "Some Monuments of the Great Persecution," BJRL 8 (1924) 18-20.

[2] Cities and Bishoprics 505; Pauline and Other Studies (1906) 115, etc.

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[1] Calder has been more emphatic than Ramsay on this point, cf. his "Eumeneian Formula" 25 and also MAMA VII p. xxxvii, quoted with approval by H. Gregoire in his memorial note on Calder, AnatStud 11 (1961) 35.

[2] Hellenica XI-XII (1960) 392ff.; the inscription is proved Jewish by the last line, the common blessing *eulogia pasin*. The *krisis* inscriptions are listed on 402f. The construction *hexei*...*pros*... is "only a linguistic variant" of *estai*...*pros*..., 401, cf. 404.

In spite of these uncertainties, at least two variations of the "Eumenian" formula have their origin in Jewish religious vocabulary seldom (if ever) used in the NT. MAMA VI 231 uses the phrase "the hand of God"; this Apameian text of ca. AD 240-50 is the epitaph of Aurelia Tatia, "a person of high birth and of senatorial family";[2] at the time of Diocletian's persecution, a person of such rank and status is probably to be associated not with the Christians but with the long-established Jewish community, either as a Jew by birth or as a Gentile sympathizer, quite like the four influential women of Anatolian Judaism already discussed (chapter II B v). The phrase "hand of God" is rare in the NT and the Apostolic Fathers, but exceedingly common in the OT and rabbinic literature.[3] The image of the divine hand is frequent in Jewish art, cf. the paintings of the exactly contemporary synagogue at Dura-Europus; it is "apparently already an established convention of Jewish pictorial art in the middle of the third century," (also the time of this "hand of God" inscription), while the earliest Christian example known is not earlier than the fourth century.[1]

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[1] Difficulty of identification, cf. MAMA I pp. xviii-xxii and Hellenica XI-XII (1960) 438. Indiscriminate use of the formula "no one is immortal," cf. Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics 523; Robert, Hellenica XI-XII (1960) 426; M. Simon, "Tharsei, oudeis athanatos," RHR 113 (1936) 188. Not under consideration here are the pagan inscriptions of ca. the beginning of the fourth century which take over Christian vocabulary deliberately, and as an attack upon the new religion, cf. Ramsay's "Pagan Revivalism and the Persecutions of the Early Church," Pauline and Other Studies (1906) 103-22.

[2] Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics 536.

[3] In general the OT yad is used with much greater frequency and variety than the NT cheir, which on occasion reflects OT usage through the influence of the LXX, J. Hastings, "Hand," HDB 2 (1899) 293; for specific examples, see 294 and Brown-Driver-Briggs, 389f. On rabbinic use, M. Grunwald, "Hand," JE 6 (1894) 211. In the NT,

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(continued from preceding page) on the other hand, of the dozen texts noted by the Moulton-Geden concordance, as meaning "hand of the Lord (or: of God, or: of the Father)," only three refer to judgment, which is implied in the grave-curse, MAMA VI 231 (the remaining texts are Lk 1:66, Jn 10:29, Acts 4:28 & 30, 11:21, Hebr 1:10, 2:7, 1 Pet 5:6). These three are Mt 3:12 // Lk 3:17 ("his winnowing fork is in his hand..."), Acts 13:11 ("the hand of the Lord is upon you...") and Hebr 10:31 ("the hands of the living God..."); the precise phrase, "hand of God," does not appear in these texts. In the Apostolic Fathers, the texts which refer to the "hand of God," etc. are associated either with Creation (Barn 5:10, 15:3, 1 Clem 27:7, 33:4), or with the Ten Commandments being written by "the finger of the hand of the Lord" (Barn 4:7, 14:2), or make use of a phrase which occurs also in 1 Pet 5:6; this last phrase, "the powerful (krataia) hand" of God, is associated with judgment in 1 Clem 28:2 but not in 60:3 ("sheltered by your powerful hand...") or in 1 Pet 5:6 ("humble yourselves [now] ...under the powerful hand of God..."). The one remaining text, 1 Clem 56:7, is in a quotation from Job (no reference to judgment).

[1] The quotation is from Kraeling, The Synagogue 57. The fourth century date for the earliest Christian example is set by H. Leclercq, "Main," DACL 10.1 (1931) 1207; he begins this article by stressing the strong Jewish presence in Asia Minor and assuming that it is from Anatolian and Syrian Judaism that the image of the divine hand or "hand of God" comes over into Christian art. Taking the Apameia inscription side-by-side with the Dura paintings, it appears that Jewish pictorial conventions and sepulchral vocabulary develop apace.

Robert has made it probable that a second inscription, in which the formula ends "...they shall reckon with the righteousness of God," is also Jewish; this is discussed in chapter III B (section vi) as is the one Eumeneian inscription in CII (no. 769, see section iv-v). In addition, other examples of the Eumenian formula may be Jewish rather than Christian; Ramsay has suggested as much for one Eumeneian inscription (Cities and Bishoprics no. 365f.) on the basis of the proper names, but with a substantial number of Jews in the general area there are surely others as well, even though the fact that they are Jewish (or that they are not Jewish, for that matter) can never be proved. For the origins of the Eumenian formula then, a tentative suggestion once made by Ramsay (dismissed by Calder but emphatically put forward by Robert) appears correct: it "arose among both (Jews and Christians) simultaneously in the third century, which would suggest relations not wholly unfriendly between them."[1] Jewish epitaphs from Palestine offer no parallels to this formula; they do not employ protective curses.[2]

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[1] Cities and Bishoprics 653, quoted by Robert, Hellenica XI-XII (1960) 413 note 4. Later examples of the formula are in the main Christian, (including at least one set up by an Encratite, MAMA VII 96), but this does not exclude the possibility that the formula was in fact originated by Jews. Jewish origin is probable also for that variant of the formula which uses echein...pros... in place of estai ...pros... It is "attested only for the fourth century among Christian inscriptions, but appears in the Jewish community of Nicomedia (Bithynia) in the third century," Hellenica XI-XII (1960) 404.

[2] A. Parrot, Malédictions et violations de Tombes (1939) 60, cf. A.D. Nock's review in JBL 60 (1941) 89.

ii

A final third-century epitaph, that of the Eumeneian city councilman Gemellos, bears another unparalleled curse: "(the grave-violator) will receive an eternal scourge (*mastix aionios*) from the immortal God," (Cities and Bishoprics no. 361). The phrase "immortal God" occurs in a Eumenian formula from Apameia (Cities and Bishoprics no. 388, AD 259) and in a number of pagan texts, e.g. the famous second-third century Men-acclamation from Saittae near Sardis εἷς θεὸς ἐν οὐρανοῖς Μῆν Οὐράνιος, μεγάλη δύναμις τοῦ ἀθανάτου θεοῦ ;[1] it is a term not infrequent in Hellenistic Judaism or in the paganism of the Imperial period.[2]

Scourging is a well-attested form of punishment in Judaism, as the frequent references in rabbinic literature attest; that it was administered to Christians in the synagogues of Palestine is implied by Mt 10:17 and 23:34, that orthodox (but not Montanist) Christians experienced it in the synagogues of Phrygia in the late second century is claimed by Apollinaris of Hierapolis (*apud* Eusebius, HE 5.16.12). It is also a frequently administered punishment under Roman Imperial law.[1] Robert has suggested that the vocabulary of the Gemellos inscription reflects the Jewish practice, that it is an "eschatological transposition" of a reality in the life of the Jewish community, the punishment of scourging in the synagogue.[2] LXX language may also play a part here, cf. 2 Macc 9:11, which describes Antiochus Epiphanes as suffering under terrible diseases, a theia mastix. Were he a Jew, Gemellos would be familiar with the punishments administered in synagogues, and perhaps with the vocabulary of the LXX.

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[1] Keil-Premerstein, Zweite Reise 211, cf. Nilsson GGR II 657 and Peterson, *Heis Theos* 268-70.

[2] As Bultmann has shown, "*athanasia*," TW III 22-25. The adjective *athanatos* is used in the NT only once of God, and that in a variant reading to 1 Ti 1:17; it is used only three times in the Apostolic Fathers, never of God, see Kraft, Clavis, s.v.

Robert is correctly cautious and does not flatly assert that Gemellos is a Jew rather than a Christian, though two facts point toward that conclusion: 1) the "scourge" is clearly a more familiar part of Jewish discipline than of Christian discipline at this time, and 2) in the third century Jews are more likely to be city councilmen than are Christians, since the Jewish communities had been long in existence and frequently wield political power: examples close at hand include Acmonia, Phrygia (discussed in the next section) and Sardis itself. Still, the funerary vocabulary used by pagans, Christians and Jews in Phrygia overlaps all too often, and the LXX would be available to Christians as well as to Jews. All things considered, Gemellos is more probably a Jew than a Christian; more than that cannot be said.

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[1] C. Schneider, "mastigoo," TW IV 515-19 with a summary of the rabbinic (516) and Roman (517) evidence. See also Juster, Juifs II 161f. and M. Greenberg, "Scourging," IDB IV 245f.

[2] Robert, Hellenica XI-XII (1960) 438.

Acmonia, the present-day Ahat (Keui), 25 miles east of Usak and the same distance north of the site of Eumeneia, is some 95 miles east of Sardis, to which it was linked in antiquity by a major highway via Philadelphia. Although a major city, it is seldom mentioned in ancient literature,[1] and has never been systematically excavated; what is known of it comes from its inscriptions and coins. The city probably dates from the Lydian period and was refounded by Pergamum to counter Seleucid influence in northern Phrygia; its life continues under the Empire and into the Byzantine period without apparent interruption.[2]

Epigraphic evidence for the Jews of Acmonia is abundant. Of the known city officials, a certain number have some connection with the Jewish community. According to Ramsay, "Jewish inscriptions, certain or probable, are more numerous near Akmonia than in all the rest of Phrygia put together; and they reveal to us Jews of rank and influence."[3]

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[1] Cicero, Flac. 15.34-38 indicates much about the author's tactics and argumentation, but little about Acmonia in the first century BC.

[2] Generally on Acmonia: Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics 621-66, MAMA VI 239-50 and Broughton, "Economic Survey" 724, 771.

[3] Cities and Bishoprics, 673, but note the necessary qualifications, infra 77. Studying the epigraphic evidence from Acmonia is complicated by two things: the CII section on the city is quite incomplete, and some inscriptions are printed in three or four different reference works, and thus bear as many, differing numbers. A coordination of these numbers is given in the Appendix at the end of the section on Acmonia.

i

In the second half of the first century AD, the Jewish community possessed a synagogue, the building (oikos) being donated by one Julia Severa and decorated on walls and ceiling under the direction (and partly at the expense) of P. Tyrronios Klados, the archisynagogos dia biou ("for life"), the archisynagogos Loukios Loukiou, and the archon Popilios Zotikos (MAMA VI 264 = CII 766). The three men hold office in the Jewish community, but the differences between offices are not completely clear, despite epigraphical evidence from throughout the Diaspora. H. J. Leon[1] discusses both offices and concludes that the archisynagogos is the leader of the Jewish community and its representative to local Gentiles; he is concerned both with spiritual and (as in this inscription) with practical matters. Tyrronios Klados, the archisynagogos for life, was probably the predecessor of Loukios Loukiou and is now "emeritus"; his name is listed first of the three, a position of honor. The archon is a lesser official, "probably concerned with secular affairs exclusively, such as business negotiations involving contracts and leases, political connections and other non-religious matters."[2]

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[1] Jews of Ancient Rome 171-80; this inscription is discussed on 172.

[2] Leon, Jews of Ancient Rome 176. Leon takes into account the older surveys by Schuerer, Juster and Krauss. For a survey of the most recent literature, see W. Schrage, "synagoge," TW VII 842-45; Schrage quotes CII 766 (i.e. MAMA VI 264) in part in footnote 132.

Both titles occur in the text of Acts 14:2 in codex Bezae, so that instead of "the unbelieving Jews" it is "the archisynagagoi of the Jews and the archontes of the synagogue" who prompt an attack on Paul and Barnabas in Ikonium, Lycaonia. Epp argues that this is a particularly obvious instance of an "anti-Judaic" tendency in the Bezae text: it is not a casual crowd but the Jewish leaders themselves who cause the trouble.[1] However, this does not explain the presence of both terms in the text in a way that implies two parallel offices, each involving both spiritual and secular functions. Ramsay suggests that the Bezan text is a result of reading second-century circumstances back into first-century events: before the destruction of Jerusalem "there were in a Jewish Asian community political officials styled archons, and religious officials of the synagogue styled archisynagagoi; the former could not be termed with any propriety archons of the synagogue (as in Acts 14:2 D): they were archons of the Jewish community.... (After AD 70) the Jews ceased to be a nation; and Jewish communities in cities of the empire necessarily lost the status they had hitherto enjoyed.... Only the religious distinction now remained."[1] While archons[2] continue to be elected, their status is changed; they become synagogue officials, leaders of the religious community along with the archisynagagoi who had always exercised religious leadership. Thus to Ramsay the Bezan text at Acts 14:2 is a second-century anachronism, intertwining two offices which in the first century were fully distinct.

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[1] E. Epp, The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts (Society for New Testament Studies. Monograph series, no. 3, 1966) 137f., 169. In this instance, the reverse could be argued: the mass of Jews do not attack Paul and Barnabas, only the Jewish leaders do.

Ramsay's hypothesis gives a plausible explanation for the origin of the two offices, but the reason for the Bezae text lies elsewhere. To judge from the inscriptions, one person on occasion could hold both offices, as in CII 265, from Rome: Stafulo arconti et archisynagogo...; nevertheless, the offices were distinct, thus in the Acmonia inscription they are held by different individuals. The author of Luke-Acts appears not to have understood this distinction, since in one text he uses the terms interchangeably: in Lk 8, Jairus is called "an archon of the synagogue" in v. 41, but an archisynagogos in v. 49. The Bezae text is more accurate (whatever its "anti-Judaic" concerns) in its use of the terms; it is more in line with the epigraphic evidence, and with the Acmonia text in particular.[3]

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[1] W. Ramsay, "The Rulers of the Synagogue," Expositor 41 (1895) 274, cf. 272-77.

[2] The occurrence of the title archon is surely a case of Jewish borrowing of a common Gentile term, but it is hardly the egregious example of Hellenization which Kittel, "Kleinas. Judentum" 15, claims it to be. On the Jewish use of archon, see further Robert, "Inscriptions...de Sidè" 40f. and "Bull. épigr." 1966, no. 197 (cf. Lifshitz, Donateurs 17, no. 9a).

[3] The confusion of terms in Lk 8 is pointed out by W. Schrage, "synagoge," TW VII 844f.; he does not mention the Ramsay article. The precise phrase "archon of the synagogue" occurs in CII 22, 384, 390, etc.

The most important person in MAMA VI 264 is Julia Severa, patroness of the Jewish community and donor of the synagogue building. Acmonian coins indicate that she was magistrate there in the time of Nero; it may thus be assumed that the synagogue was constructed in the third quarter of the first century AD.[1] On the coins she is associated with L. Servenius Capito, in four examples for a period of three terms of office.[2] Ramsay argues that such association on public documents over a long period of time indicates that Servenius Capito and Julia Severa were husband and wife. This is quite plausible, all the more so since Servenius Capito is always listed first and on other coins is listed as the only magistrate.[1] It is also likely that they are the parents of L. Servenius Cornutus, proconsular legate in Asia in the time of Vespasian, and the grandparents of Servenia Cornuta, described in an Ancyran inscription as the wife of a senator and a "descendant of kings."[2] Ramsay further suggests that this family is related to an illustrious Anatolian, C. Julius Severus (whose career spans the first half of the second century AD) and so to a number of powerful officials in the first and second centuries.[3] In IGRR III 173 (from Ancyra), this Julius Severus is called the "descendant of

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[1] MAMA VI 264 is somewhat later, since it refers to building repairs or restoration, so Schuerer, Geschichte III 21.

[2] The four coins are Head, Coins of Phrygia 10, no. 43-47, cf. 9-11, no. 36, 39-50. The office, abbreviated *Arch-*, is taken to be that of high-priestess by Ramsay (Cities and Bishoprics 639) and, following him, by Groag, "Iulia Severa," RE 10 (1919) 947; that she held this office (and that of *agonothetis*) is attested by Cities and Bishoprics 647, no. 550. H. Dessau, PIR III p. 225 assumes that *arch-* here (as usually) stands for *archon*.

Previously it had been assumed that an exact parallel to Julia Severa's offices (magistrate and high-priest) occurred at Sala, Lydia (60 miles east of Sardis on the road to Apameia and Eumenia) in the career of the Jew Melito, son of Salamon (sic), in the time of Trajan; however, the abbreviation *arch-* after his name probably stands for "archon," as usually (so Ramsay admits, Cities and Bishoprics 639), cf. Head, Coins of Lydia 227, no. 1-3, 5-7 and p. xcvi. Salamon is the Jewish name Solomon, according to Ramsay, "Jews in the Graeco-asiatic Cities," 102f.; a man of this name is the father of two magistrates of Sala, Melito and (under Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius) Androneikos. On one of the latter's coins the name Salamon and the adjective meaning "of (the town of) Sala" are both spelled out in full (Head, Coins of Lydia 232, no. 39), eliminating the possibility that a "local" adjective has been taken as a personal name. Because they held the magistracy and because he assumed Melito was a high-priest as well, Schuerer (Geschichte III 17) insisted that they were not Jews, but were of "Jewish stock" because of their father's name, cf. Kittel, "Kleinas. Judentum" 12. It is more probable, however, that they were important local Jews, sharing in the offices of their town as their fellow-citizens expected. (Since all names on these coins are in the genitive, Ramsay, The Bearing 366f., considered Salamon as the second name of the magistrates, rather than as a father's name, i.e. in his view the magistrates themselves were called by the "Beiname" or *signum* Salamon.)

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[1] Head, Coins of Phrygia 367f., no. 35. That Servenius Capito and Julia Severa were man and wife is considered probable by H. Dessau, PIR III p. 225; Groag, "Iulia Severa," RE 10 (1919) 947; W. Calder and W. Buckler, MAMA VI 94; Head, Coins of Phrygia, xxiii; and Schuerer, Geschichte III 20.

[2] For the career of Cornutus: H. Dessau, PIR III no. 404; Fluss, "L. Servenius Cornutus," RE (2.Reihe) 2 (1923) 1757f.; Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics 647-49, 673f. For Cornuta: Fluss, "Servenia Cornuta Calpurnia Valeria Secunda Cotia Procilla...Luculla," RE (2.Reihe) 2 (1923) 1757; Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics 647-49 (the "descendant of kings" text is quoted on 648) and no. 551; MAMA IV 139 and VI 254. This last inscription makes it probable that Cornutus and Cornuta are not brother and sister (the supposition of the other, older evidence listed) but rather father and daughter.

[3] For the career of Julius Severus: E. Groag, "C. Iulius Severus," RE 10 (1919) 811-20; Magie, Roman Rule, 626f., with notes; R. Hanslik, "C. I. Severus," Kleine Pauly II 1536.

King Alexander...and of Attalos, King of Asia" and in IGRR III 174 he is called more simply "descendant of kings and tetrarchs"; Magie surmises that this Alexander is the man whom Vespasian appointed "king" of an area in Cilicia and is also the great-great-grandson of Herod the Great (Josephus, AJ 18.140).[1] While this quite plausible connection of Julius Severus with Alexander indicates something of the heterogeneity of Anatolian "Judaism" under the Empire, it may well say nothing at all about Julia Severa, since her link with Julius Severus consists of 1) the similarity in names and 2) the fact that her putative granddaughter, Servenia Cornuta, is also called a "descendant of kings."

Ramsay's second attempt to make Julia Severa a Jew is based on the name of the second man to share the magistracy with her, Tyrronios Rapo; Ramsay thought the name Tyrronios (cf. MAMA VI 264) clearly Jewish.[2] In only one inscription are the two names linked

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[1] Magie, Roman Rule 1439 and the evidence there cited, cf. 779 (Julius Severus as a descendant of "king Attalos"). Schuerer, Geschichte I 561 note 41, admits the same possibility, cf. E. Groag, RE 10 (1919), "Iulius Alexander," 150-53, and "C. Iulius Severus," 814, and G. Bowersock, Augustus and the Greek World (1965) 143, cf. 142 note 2. In PIR I^2 85, no. 500, A. Stein records that the "king" Alexander of the Josephus text and he of the inscription (IGRR III 173 = OGIS 544) referring to C. Iulius Severus are considered to be the same person (idem putatur); this inscription was not used by H. Dessau, "C. Iulius Severus," PIR II 214, no. 372.

[2] L. Robert considers the name Roman, Noms indigènes, 42. G. M. A. Hanfmann's statement is more precise: "thought to be a Lydian name, or at least Anatolian...but frequently connected by linguists with turan (Etruscan), turris, etc." (letter of 29 May 1967). Ramsay stated his opinion in Cities and Bishoprics, 650, 673.

(MAMA VI 265), and Tyrronios Rapo's name is given second, indicating that Julia Severa was much the more prominent of the two. Ramsay argues that, just as Julia Severa was married to the first man with whom she had shared the magistracy (Servenios Capito), so she was later married to the second, Tyrronios Rapo, after the death of her first husband; the flaw here is that the numismatic evidence shows three terms of office shared by Servenios Capito and Julia Severa (who are always named on the coins in this order), while Tyrronios Rapo's tie with her (and indeed his very existence) is attested by but one inscription (MAMA VI 265) in which he is listed in second place. It is more in keeping with the evidence to say that "nothing indicates that they were wife and husband";[1] despite Ramsay, Julia Severa can be proved a Jew neither through a kinship with Julius Severus nor through a marriage with Tyrronios Rapo.

It was through Julia Severa and the name Tyrronios that Ramsay sought to prove that many powerful Acmonians were Jewish (the quotation from Ramsay at the beginning of this section presupposes these connections and thus requires some qualification); the name Tyrronios is borne by some Phrygian Jews, but there is no way of being certain that every Phrygian Tyrronios is a Jew.[2]

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[1] W. Buckler and W. Calder in the notes to MAMA VI 265; E. Groag, "Iulia Severa," RE 10 (1919) 947 is also cautious.

[2] In general on Julia Severa, Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics 673f.; Lifshitz, Donateurs 35f. If she is not Jewish, then the "one clear case of syncretism" in the Diaspora cited by R. Wilson evaporates, The Gnostic Problem (1958) 13 f., (quoting W. L. Knox). Juster, Juifs I 192 cites Ramsay as evidence for the presence of Jews in

Julia Severa is rather a patroness of the Jewish community, in all probability a Gentile sympathizer like her contemporary Poppaea, the mistress of Nero;[1] she is proof of the attractiveness of Acmonian Judaism to Gentiles in the first century, and an example of the powerful protectors enjoyed by some Anatolian Jewish communities. The fact that she was also "high-priestess...of the entire house of the theoi Sebastoi (i.e. of the Imperial cult)" (MAMA VI 263) did not lead to a rejection of her gifts by the Jews,

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(continued from preceding page) Sebaste, a town ca. 15 miles south of Acmonia. The "evidence" for this is the name Tyrronios in Cities and Bishoprics 604, no. 478, an inscription from Sebaste with no (other) "Jewish" features. Ramsay's treatment of this evidence is conditioned by his general conception of Anatolian Jews, which led him to expect to find them in positions of authority. In a later book, The Bearing (1915), he says of them: "Every foreign power ruling the country found the Jews useful and trustworthy. They were servants of foreign rulers, and therefore they were an aristocratic, conservative, dominant caste (355)...The Jews of Asia Minor for the most part either died out, or melted into the surrounding population, a unique fact in Jewish history. (They disappear thus because) they were too favorably situated (356)... The Jewish cemeteries in Rome are the burying-place of a humble and despised caste; but the Phrygian Jews were largely nobles and the rich...A humble and poor population clings to its distinctive religion, whereas a rich or aristocratic caste adapts itself to circumstances and refrains from blazoning the distinguishing marks of religion, even when it still retains the religion (357f.)." Julius Severus and Julia Severa were about what Ramsay expected Anatolian Jews to be, but in these two instances his evidence is not compelling.

[1] The parallel between Poppaea and Julia Severa as Gentile sympathizers and patrons of Jews is seen by E. Groag, "Iulia Severa," RE 10 (1919) 948, Hengel, "Synagogeninschrift von Stobi," 163 note 61, and Lifshitz, Donateurs, 35f. A cultus honoring Poppaea is attested for Acmonia, and Ramsay suspects that this "would have been established in the city, and maintained for years after her death by none except Jews," Cities and Bishoprics 651, cf. 640.

probably since this office was chiefly of social and political importance, still another indication of her standing in the community.[1]

While no bona-fide Jews are known to have held an Acmonian high-priesthood, two Jews held a great many public offices in the third century. In AD 248/49 Aurelios Phrougianos prepared a tomb for himself, protecting it from later molesters with "the curses written in Deuteronomy" (MAMA VI 335a = CII 760); his offices were "stewardship of the market-place, grain-purchasing, guardianship of order, having fulfilled all municipal offices and duties and having held the post of strategos or commander" -- all are listed on the stone![2] An inscription for a tomb prepared in AD 243/44 (CII 770, protected by "the written curses") lists the titles held by a T. Flavios Alexander as "archon, police magistrate, grain-purchaser (two terms of office), senate president, market-place steward and strategos"; the similarity of the curse-formulae in the two texts marks this one also as Jewish. Thus, although the Jews of Acmonia were not ubiquitous, as Ramsay had supposed,[1] their political and economic power was substantial, partly because of such patrons as Julia Severa, but also as a result of their numbers in the Acmonia area: in addition to the evidence already mentioned for Acmonian Judaism, Jewish communities existed in this part of Phrygia and north of Eumenia in the following towns: Synnada (35 miles east-southeast of Acmonia), attested by a first- or second-century inscription referring to an archisynagagos (MAMA IV 90).[2] Docimium (50 miles east-northeast), a stone with carved menorah (Cities and Bishoprics no. 691, no inscription).[3] Prymnessus (40 miles east of Acmonia) MAMA IV 27 (AD 217/18) and 28 (also third century) contain "children's children" curses (infra, section iii) and are probably Jewish.[4]

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[1] See Nilsson, GGR II 384-95, especially 385, where, however, he indicates that just in Asia Minor emperor-worship inclined toward becoming a more personal kind of religion, in the Imperial mysteries, cf. 370f. and H. Pleket, "An Aspect of the Emperor Cult: Imperial Mysteries," HTR 58 (1965) 331-47.

[2] On this inscription (= CII 760, incorrectly attributed to Blaundos), see Robert, Hellenica X (1955) 249-51. It was found and first published by Ramsay, The Bearing, 358-61, no. 1 with plate 3 and fig. 8, from which the translation here is adapted. The curse-formula is taken up in the following section.

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[1] His summary statement on this matter is Cities and Bishoprics 673-76.

[2] Frey incorrectly locates this inscription in Lycia on the south coast of Asia Minor (CII 759). MAMA IV 84, with a first- or second-century "children's children" curse, may also be Jewish, see section iii below.

[3] This community and its monument are not mentioned in CII, and Juster's reference (Juifs I 192) is incomplete. This is apparently not a gravestone (see the sketch in Cities and Bishoprics 746) since in The Bearing 368 note 1 Ramsay says that another inscription (Cities and Bishoprics no. 561) contains the only menorah he has seen on a Phrygian gravestone; it may therefore be a fragment of the Dokimion synagogue itself (though the city is not listed in Krauss, Syn.Alter. 232-35).

[4] Juster includes Sebaste (15 miles south of Acmonia) on his list, because Ramsay considered Cities and Bishoprics no. 478 from that town to be Jewish; Ramsay's only evidence, however, was the presence of the name Tyrronios, which is not decisive. Juster's reference (Juifs I 192) is again incomplete, see preceding note; the inscription is printed on Cities and Bishoprics 604, with no reference to Judaism (the name Tyrronios is held to be Jewish on pages 650, 673).

ii

A number of the protective curses in Jewish epitaphs from Acmonia contain quotations or reminiscences of the LXX, so much so that on a few occasions pagans may have borrowed some particularly potent phrases for use over their own graves. Two inscriptions (CII 760 = MAMA VI 335a, dated AD 248/49, and MAMA VI 335) refer to "the curses written in Deuteronomy" αἱ ἀραὶ ⟨αἱ⟩γεγραμμέναι ἐν τῷ Δευτερονομίῳ and a third (CII 770, dated AD 243/44) to "the written curses" κατάραι ⟨αἱ⟩ ἐὰν γεγραμμένα⟨ι εἰ⟩σιν. The curses in question are doubtless those of the Sinai covenant in Deut 27-30, which are used in these inscriptions not because they are grave-protection curses, but because of a more general potency attributed to them; they are thought able to accomplish the preservation of the tomb from violation. As was shown in chapter III A, such protection is greatly desired in Phrygia, and elaborate curses (often in combination with heavy fines) are customarily employed; what the Anatolian Jews have contributed is not the original practice of protecting graves with curses, but rather a new source of protection (the God of the OT) and a new repertoire of curses (here, the Book of Deuteronomy).[1]

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[1] The title *Deuteronomion* is "probably of Alexandrian origin and pre-Christian use"; it is also used by Philo, H. Swete, Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek (1914^2) 215. In Christian texts the title appears in Barn. 10:2 in the first half of the second century, and a half-century later in the canon-list of Melito of Sardis (*apud* Eusebius, HE 4.26.14). The earliest Christian example may be that in a canon-list optimistically dated by J.-P. Audet and C.

These inscriptions mention curses which accompany the giving of the Covenant in Deuteronomy, but make no direct reference to the Covenant itself; the Acmonean curses are not seen as incurred by breaking the Covenant, since they are directed to Gentiles (outside the Covenant) as well as to Jews. In these three inscriptions at least, the OT is used as a magic book whose curses have a supernatural protective power.

iii

The element of magic is more obvious in the use made of a second group of curses, those which threaten the "children's children" of whoever might desecrate the grave. Curses on the posterity of such a person take a number of forms in this area, many of them variations on ὀρφανὰ τέκνα λίποιτο χῆρον βίον οἶκον ἔρημον , "much the commonest variety in eastern Phrygia,"[1]

(continued from preceding page) Torrey to the second half of the first century, cf. Torrey, "The Aramaic Period of the Nascent Christian Church," ZNW 44 (1952/53) 217-33 (the date is given on 219); Sundberg questions the date, The Old Testament of the Early Church (Harvard Theological Studies, no. 20, 1964) 56, see the discussion and the references to earlier literature given there.

[1] MAMA VII p. xxxv; examples from eastern Phrygia include MAMA I 126, 235 (Christian), 294, 332, 404, 437; MAMA IV 20 (third century) is from modern Isiklar, about 50 miles east of Acmonia. On examples in MAMA VII, see the discussion, pp. xxxiii-xxxvi and the index V g, 158. For a more exhaustive (though dated) list of pagan Phrygian curses of this type, see A. Parrot, Malédictions et violations de Tombes (1939) 134f. Generally, Lattimore, Themes 113f.

or on the wish that the culprit suffer συνφορᾶ τέκνων ἀώρων .[1] Inscriptions often record that a tomb is built for one's children (teknois, ekgonois), but the curse upon "children's children" appears to be a Jewish contribution to the funerary vocabulary; in this locality it is so characteristic that Ramsay once called it the "Akmonian formula."[2] The origin of the curse is in all probability Ex.34:7 ἐπάγων ἀνομίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα καὶ ἐπὶ τέκνα τέκνων, κτλ. but it was regularly abbreviated: CII 761 (from Eumenia) ἔστω αὐτῷ κατ[ά]ρα τέκνων τέκ[νοις] [3] MAMA VI 287 (= CII 763, Acmonia) ἀρά ...ἔσται εἰς τέκνα τέκνων .[4] MAMA VI 277 (= CII 765, Acmonia) ἔσται αὐτῷ [ε]ἰς τὸν οἶκον καὶ τέκνα τέκνων. MAMA VI 335 (Acmonia) ὅσαι ἀραὶ ἐν τῷ Δευτερονομίῳ εἰσὶν γεγραμμέναι αὐτῷ τε κ- τέκνοις κ- ἐγγόνοις κ- παντὶ τῷ γένει αὐτοῦ γένοιτο . In this inscription the curses from Deuteronomy (see section ii, supra) are applied with the formula from Exodus, Deuteronomy containing no "children's children" curses. The formulaic character of the phrase is apparent in CII 767 (late second or third century): "If anyone maltreats this tomb," ἕξει τέκνα τέκνων ἀράν ; the curse is so familiar it may be radically abbreviated: it is the "children's-children curse."[1] The curse in a final inscription from Acmonia, MAMA VI 323, may be of the same type, but the stone is too fragmentary for certainty.

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[1] Examples from Acmonia: MAMA VI 291, 303, 319f.; see also MAMA I 425, IV 310, VI 366, VII 225, 308. The fact that a child is born aoros ("untimely, too soon") is often listed as the reason for its death, cf. Lattimore, Themes 185-87.

[2] Cities and Bishoprics 499. Unfortunately, Lattimore has not treated this formula in his section on curses, Themes 108-18, though he refers to three examples (by number only) in note 187 on p. 114.

[3] Considered pagan by W. Calder, "The Eumenian Formula," Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler, edd. W. Calder and J. Keil (1939) 18. Ramsay thought it Jewish or Jewish Christian, Cities and Bishoprics 499, and Robert "juive ou judaïsante," Hellenica XI-XII 390 note 8.

[4] The MAMA notes call this curse "probably Jewish," agreeing with Ramsay, The Bearing 363f., cf. 367, "There is a possibility that... the strange name Salimachos (in this inscription) may be the transformation of some Hebrew name."

If two inscriptions from Prymnessus (40 miles east of Acmonia) have been read correctly, they contain the same formula: on MAMA IV 28 (third century) only the letters *teknō*- are visible, but the context is clearly a curse and the restoration a likely one. In MAMA IV 27 (AD 217/18) καὶ αυτὸς ἔστω τέκνων τέκνοις ὑποκατάρατος is the reading recorded by W. Hamilton in the early half of the nineteenth century; the lettering is now wholly lost.[1] In a text[2] from nearby Acroenus (5 miles northwest of Prymnessus) a very similar curse appears, this time with the lettering intact: ... ὑποκατάρατος ἔστω εἰς τέκνων τέκνα . MAMA IV 84 is from the same town (Synnada, 35 miles east-southeast of Acmonia) and time-period (first or second century) as the Jewish inscription MAMA IV 90 (= CII 759, mentioning an archisynagogos), but in MAMA IV 84 the curse is κατάρα̣ αὐ[τῷ γένο]ιτο εἰς ἐγ[γόνων] ἐ̣γγόνους ; these last two words are paralleled in MAMA VI 335 (see preceding paragraph), so that this may be a variation on the more common ...teknōn tekna.

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[1] Ramsay (The Bearing 364, 369) rightly complains of the grammar of these inscriptions, but in this instance it is not faulty grammar but the familiarity of the curse-formula which prompts a lapidary terseness. The CII treatment of this text is particularly inept; it first omits the verb quoted, though it is shown in the original edition, Keil-Premerstein, Zweite Reise 137, no. 255 (the date given for this inscription is that of these editors). Then in the notes it takes over from Keil-Premerstein a reference to an inscription in Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics (654, no. 566) without realizing that the same inscription had been printed as CII 765 on the preceding page.

With much Anatolian evidence, the decision as to whether a given text is Jewish or Christian is a difficult one, but in regard to this formula, the situation is a bit clearer than usual. The strength and importance of the Acmonian Jewish community are obvious, and date from the beginning of the Imperial period at the latest, since the "Julia Severa" synagogue was in being ca. the mid-first century AD. Some of the grave curses just quoted are similarly early, e.g. MAMA IV 84 (first or second century AD). As will soon appear, at least one pagan borrowed this formula, and Christians doubtless did as well; however, the curse comes into use while Phrygian Christianity was in its infancy or about the time the first Christian missionaries arrived in the Anatolian interior, so that the likely place of origin for the formula is somewhere within Phrygian Judaism, probably in the Acmonian Jewish community itself.

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[1] This is the reading printed in brackets in MAMA VI, cf. W. Hamilton, Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia (1842) 2, no. 175.

[2] F. K. Doerner, "Ausserbithynische Inschriften...," JOAIBeibl 32 (1940) 132, no. 12.

The one clearly pagan use of the formula is from present-day Kalin Harman (35 miles east of Sardis and 55 miles west of Acmonia, on the eastern border of the Sardis-Philadelphia-Saittai triangle discussed infra, chapter IV A): the grave-molester will have to deal with "the wrathful Apollo and Lady Anaetis" διὰ τέκνα τέκνων ἔγονα ἐγόνων .[1] This inscription is later (AD 261/62) than the majority of those quoted above and is in an area of proved Jewish habitation (infra, chapter IV passim); it appears that the donor of this monument borrowed the "children's children" curse known from Jewish monuments, perhaps because he supposed it to possess a particular magical efficacy.[2]

iv

In addition to those gravestones mentioning Deuteronomy and those cursing "children's children," a third group of Acmonian inscriptions may be isolated; these contain more general allusions or references to the OT. Two threaten with "the scythe of (the) curse," MAMA VI 316 (= CII 768) τὸ ἀρᾶς δρέπανον εἰσέλθοι[το] εἰς τὰς οἰκήσις ạὐτῶν καὶ μηδίναν ἐνκ[α]ταλείψατο and CII 769 (completed by comparison with the above) τὸ ἀρᾶς δρέπανον εἰς τὸν ⟨οἰ⟩κον αὐτοῦ [εἰσέλθοιτο ... The more accurate MAMA VI 316 shows that Ramsay's suggested restoration (reproduced in CII 768) is incorrect; this inscription contains no "Eumenian formula" (supra, chapter III A), but the briefer CII 769 clearly does, the deity being described as ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὕψιστος (on Hypsistos, infra, section v). Ramsay, Robert and the MAMA VI editors accept the texts as Jewish, although earlier Ramsay had considered it (Cities and Bishoprics no. 465f. = MAMA VI 316 = CII 768) "Jewish Christian," and added "but it would appear that the Church in Akmonia was of a debased type, much infected by non-Christian elements."[1]

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[1] P. Herrmann, Ergebnisse einer Reise in Nordostlydien (DenkschrWien, no. 80, 1962) 59, no. 54.

[2] Kittel ("Kleinas. Judentum" 13) held that curses referring to the OT would protect Jewish graves because of the special privileges and political influence of Anatolian Jews; it is more likely that a special religious or magic potency was attributed to curses from this ancient and revered book, even when used in quite abbreviated form (and by pagans). Further on Jewish magic, chapter II C ii.

The phrase τὸ ἀρᾶς δρέπανον is from the LXX, Zech 5:2-4 ἐγὼ ὁρῶ δρέπανον πετόμενον ... αὐτὴ ἡ ἀρὰ ἡ ἐκπορευμένη ... εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ κλεπτοῦ (the remainder of the fourth verse lists specific kinds of destruction which are summarized less colorfully at the end of MAMA VI 316). In these examples the threat might seem more appropriate than the more general curses from Deuteronomy discussed above: in the LXX the curse is directed against thieves, and writers of many inscriptions did have in mind future grave-robbers, who often looted ancient tombs for the valuables buried with the dead.[1] However, both CII 769 and MAMA VI 316 specifically mention grave-violation by the burial there of someone not in the family, not violation by theft of valuables; thus either the curse is borrowed from the epitaph of someone who had used it (with more knowledge of Zech 5:2-4) against tomb-robbery, or it is used (as were the Deuteronomy curses) with little familiarity or concern for the original context.

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[1] Cities and Bishoprics 566, but in The Bearing 363 he considers the text Jewish, cf. Robert, Hellenica XI-XII 400 note 1. Schepelern, Montanismus 87, thinks it likely that Cities and Bishoprics no. 563 = CII 769 is the product of Jewish-influenced pagans, though he does not rule out a purely Jewish origin.

Of particular significance in these two inscriptions is the fact that the LXX and the Hebrew Zechariah differ in the verses quoted, with the inscriptions following the Greek rather than the Hebrew; according to the Hebrew, what appears in the vision described in Zech 5:1-4 is not a "scythe of curse" but a "flying scroll," Kittel explains the change from "scroll" to "scythe" in the LXX on the basis of the similarity of the Hebrew words מגלה ("scroll") and מגל ("scythe").[2]

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[1] MAMA VII p. xxxiv.

[2] But the scythe may also function as a sign of judgment, e.g. Joel 4:13 LXX (3:13 RSV), Kittel, "Kleinas. Judentum" 15. Unfortunately the Greek text of the Minor Prophets from wadi Murabbaat lacks this text, cf. D. Barthélemy, Les Devanciers d'Aquila (VT Suppl. no. 10, 1963) 177f. where the text extant from Zechariah is transcribed. As inserted into an indigenous grave-protection formula, the Zechariah curse has come a long way from its original setting in the OT, but see F. Horst, "Segen und Fluch II Im AT," RGG^3 V 1649-51, S. Gevirtz, "Curse," IDB I 749f. and W. Harrelson, "Blessings and Curses," IDB I 446-48.

These two texts show the LXX in use in Acmonia; as MAMA VI 334 shows (bilingual, discussed at the end of this section), Hebrew was not unknown here, but there is clear preference for the LXX over the Hebrew text, and with the one exception Greek is used exclusively in Jewish inscriptions. The OT in common use must have been written in Greek.

Two other inscriptions may reflect the same biblical image; their curses are as follows:

SEG 6.172 εἰ τὶς ἀνοίσει ἤ ἐπιβουλεύσει, σά⟨ρ⟩ον σιδαροῦν εἴσελθον τὸν οἶκον.

Cities and Bishoprics no. 567 (= SEG 6.171 = CII 762)[1]
ὃς ἂν ἀνορύξει, σάρον σιδαροῦν τὸν [ξ](εν)ῶνα (traditur ικωνα) ξάναιτο.

Ramsay translated the latter, "Whoever shall dig up (the grave), may an iron broom raze his house."[2] If _saron_, "broom," were to be read _soron_, a common word for "coffin," the meaning would be, "Whoever shall dig up (the) coffin, may an iron (weapon?) raze his house"; in the first inscription the stone is damaged and the reading *saron* not certain, but in the second example all letters are clear.[1] SEG 6.172 ends with *eiselthon* *ton* *oikon* and Zech 5:4 (quoted at the beginning of this section) with *eiseleusetai* *eis* *ton* *oikon*, i.e. the wording is approximately the same, with the insertion of a preposition and a simple change from future indicative to imperative (with equivalent meaning) in the verb. In discussing Cities and Bishoprics no. 567, Zeph Stewart has pointed out that "the ancient broom...closely resembles the scourge, and the verb *xaino* could be used, in a way, with either noun"; he offers as a further analogy the Latin *puto*, which means both "card, clean (wool)" (like *xaino*) and "prune, trim" with a *falx* (= *drepanon*).[2] Considering the parallel in SEG 6.172 to Zech 5:4 and the two "scythe of curse" inscriptions, it is likely that the "iron broom" is an imaginative variation of that formula; Phrygian tombstones in all areas are frequently decorated with reproductions of household implements,[1] and the image may owe something to this custom as well. In the light of Stewart's comments, the change to the less common but more graphic xaino (with subject, saron) in Cities and Bishoprics no. 567 is not surprising.[2]

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[1] J. Zingerle, "Phrygisches Griechisch," AnzWien 1923, 63-65 clears up the meaning of _ton_ (_xen_)_ona_ (the stone has _ton_ ---_ikona_); it is a synonym of _ton_ _oikon_ in SEG 6.172. (He has nothing to say about _saron_ however.) The parallel in SEG 6.172 makes this restoration more probable than Lattimore's _ton_ _eikona_ (i.e., "May an iron broom raze his face"), Themes, 115; the noun _eikon_ is usually feminine.

[2] The Bearing 364, no. 7, originally printed as Cities and Bishoprics 654, no. 567.

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[1] Although CII 762 is based on Ramsay's publication, the French translation of the text is, "Si quelqu'un viole la tombe, que le glaive détruise..." This is probably not an unannounced emendation, but a confusion resulting from Ramsay's translation, The Bearing 364, where the words "the tomb" are not in parentheses. CII's attempt to reproduce the Greek of this text is the worst I have thus far noticed in the second volume of this corpus.

[2] Zeph Stewart, in a letter of 31 July 1967. Neither *xaino* nor *saron* are used in the LXX. The Hebrew OT refers to a broom only in Isa 14:23; the Hebrew word is a *hapax* *legomenon*, however, and the LXX translators (and the translators of the Aquila and Theodotion versions) took the unfamiliar root differently, understanding "mud" (i.e. "sweepings") instead of "broom" (i.e. "sweep*er*"). The resulting translation becomes, "I will make (Baby*lo*nia) a pit of mud for destruction."

The threat of the "wrath of God" in MAMA VI 325 could well be of Christian origin were it not for the early date, AD 255/56. In this area Christian inscriptions earlier than Constantine usually bear no distinguishing sign; it is likely that the editors are correct in assuming that the family concerned is Jewish.[3] The curse text is ἐξολέσι ἐκίνου σύνπαν γένος ἡ θεοῦ ὀργή. The verb used here occurs only at Acts 3:23 in the NT, but is more frequent in the Apostolic Fathers; in all cases it is in quotations or allusions of the OT.[4] The phrase "wrath of God" is common in the OT and in later Jewish texts, including those from Qumran.[5]

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[1] See the indices, MAMA V p. 195f., VI p. 163, and the elaborate examples MAMA V 40, 44, 72, and VII 481.

[2] Unless the entire image was suggested by such domestic implements as decorate Phrygian tombstones, e.g. the spindle and distaff which recall the verb xaino in CII 762; the pruning hook (cf. "scythe of curse"?) was also a common decoration, see the indices mentioned in the previous note.

[3] On the lack of Christian symbols and expressions on Phrygian tombstones of this period, see MAMA VII p. xxxvi ff., cf. MAMA I p. xxiv. The inscription is considered Jewish by Robert, Hellenica XI-XII 407 and by the editors of MAMA VI.

[4] See J. Schneider, "exolothreuo" TW V 171 for Jewish and Christian literary use.

[5] On the "wrath of God" in the LXX and other Hellenistic Jewish texts, see J. Fichtner et al., "orge" TW V 410-19; more generally, B. Dahlberg, "Wrath of God," IDB IV 903-08 (Qumran 906). For pagan and Christian epigraphic evidence, Robert, Hellenica XI-XII 407 and Lattimore, Themes 110f.

Until the Sardis discoveries, the only published Anatolian Jewish evidence in Hebrew was the fragmentary bilingual, MAMA VI 334.[1] The presence of six Greek letters (χασπρο ...) above the well-cut Hebrew phrase proves that this is an ancient text, but also suggests that a Greek translation was necessary if the average Acmonian Jew was to comprehend. The longer line of the Hebrew is ישראל ועל ירושלים ו ... Below this is written קץ, the last word of the original inscription. E. Sukenik restored the inscription to read, "(May there be peace upon) Israel and upon Jerusalem and (upon this place to the time of) the end" and suggested OT parallels for his restoration.[2] The blessing is such a general one, however, and the extant inscription so brief that it may be connected with no particular OT text. A molding is preserved above and below the inscription, indicating that it is a building fragment; the MAMA VI editors make the likely suggestion that it may be from the synagogue built by Julia Severa (section i supra), thus the text would have a function similar to the briefer Sardis inscription IN 64.1, *euloget*(*os ho laos*?) from Room A of the area SynWest, just west of the synagogue apse.

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[1] Kittel, "Kleinas. Judentum" 15. CII 756A is only a note about a text in "square Hebrew letters" at Myndos, Caria; the text is not published.

[2] See his notes at MAMA VI 334.

V

CII 769, whose "Eumenian formula" has already been discussed (supra, chapter III A) and whose "scythe of curse" (see preceding section) proves it Jewish, contains a clear reference to "the Highest God," ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὕψιστος. The deity Hypsistos is fully discussed in standard treatments by Cumont, Cook and Nock, and in more recent summaries by Nilsson and Colpe.[1] Their examples of the widespread use of the adjective *hypsistos* ("the highest," "the most-high") of a deity are not surprising, given the abundance of high gods, sky gods and gods of the mountain peak in the ancient world;[2] a concomitant in the Imperial period is the tendency toward generalizing monotheisms of very diverse kinds,[3] so that to say "the highest god" is a way of speaking of "the only god important to me." But not everyone who talked about "the Highest," Hypsistos, had in mind the same god, any more than do the words "holy" or "divine" today always refer to the same deity. In his recent study of "the sky god," E. James stresses the remoteness of this deity, a *deus otiosus*, relating to man (if at all) through lesser deities, intermediaries;[1] but a common epithet for Hypsistos (and for a number of oriental gods) is epekoos, "the god who hears (our prayers)" and is felt to be not at all removed from the world of men (on epekoos, see the end of this section).

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[1] F. Cumont, "*hypsistos*" RE 9 (1916) 444-50; Cook, Zeus II 876ff.; Nock, "Gild of Zeus Hypsistos," 55-72; Nilsson, GGR II 662ff.; Colpe, "Hypsistos," Kleine Pauly II 1291f. The TW article on *hypsistos* should appear in volume VIII shortly.

[2] The handy collection of ancient and modern examples of such deities is the major value of E. James' sweeping treatment, The Worship of the Sky God (1963).

[3] Nilsson, GGR II 569-78.

Isolating the Jewish evidence from the non-Jewish is also difficult. In Athens, for example, Jewish inhabitants are attested by inscriptions as early as the second century BC;[2] there is also, on the site of the Pnyx, a sanctuary of Hypsistos which was much frequented in the Imperial period (the inscriptions are from the first three centuries AD, but mainly from the second century), but from the nature of the dedications (representations of human eyes, female breasts, etc.) it is clear that this Hypsistos is a healing god of the Athenian lower classes, without particular Jewish characteristics.[3] Thus even when, in a single time period,

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[1] James, The Worship of the Sky God (1963), especially 8ff.; cf. Colpe's review of this book in JBL 83 (1964) 331f. and his "Hypsistos," Kleine Pauly II 1291f. More useful for the high gods of antiquity is M. Nilsson, "The High God and the Mediator," HTR 56 (1963) 101-20.

[2] See Robert on IG II^2 12609 in "Bull. épigr." 1958 no. 211; on the later IG II^2 10949 with menorah, (ethrog?) and lulab, B. Lifshitz, "Notes d'Épigraphie grecque," RB 70 (1963) 257f. and plate XIIIa; also CII 712-14. For a general chronology of Judaism in Greece, B. Mazur, Studies on Jewry in Greece I (1935) 9ff.

[3] The sanctuary is described in K. Kourouniotes and H. Thompson, "The Pnyx in Athens," Hesperia I (1932) 193-200, 217; for the date, 198. The deity was infrequently called Zeus Hypsistos or Theos Hypsistos, 197. Additional dedications and a small marble altar were published by Thompson in "Pnyx and Thesmophorion," Hesperia 5 (1936) 154-56; see also Cook, Zeus II 876-78. A. Woodward is thinking of a Hypsistos more in keeping with the Greek Orient than

Hypsistos inscriptions and a Jewish community occur in the same city, they need not be related.[1]

As the lists of Keil and Cook show, Zeus (or indigenous deities Grecicized with that name) is a god attested throughout Lydia and Phrygia, frequently as a "mountain deity" but in other roles as well. Hypsistos is one epithet of this mountain deity (Cook discusses "Hypsistos" in an appendix entitled "The Mountain-cults of Zeus"), but Cook finds eight other epithets of Zeus as *mountain* god, and literally scores of other epithets are used of him in other functions. Further, *hypsistos* and *hypsiste* occur alone (or with *theos* but with no "proper" name) as divine titles,

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(continued from preceding page) with Athens when he suggests (in the notes to SEG XIV 139) reading a Hebrew man's name "Kedar" (cf. Gen 25:13) in a fragmentary inscription from this cult (first century AD, on a "small cylindrical altar"); there is nothing particularly Jewish about the cult, and most of the participants were women. In the original publication of this inscription, B. Meritt states that the dedicant is "probably a woman," "Greek Inscriptions" Hesperia 23 (1954) 256, no. 40. Nilsson, GGR II 332, stresses the importance of this Athenian cult as showing a developing monotheism among the lower classes.

[1] Large generalizations about Hypsistos are thus of little value, but if they must be made, the statement of Nock, that "where Zeus Hypsistos and Theos Hypsistos exist side by side the Zeus form is the earlier and Theos Hypsistos may be an unofficial synonym" ("Gild of Zeus Hypsistos" 59), now appears less accurate than Colpe's position that Theos Hypsistos is the earlier in the east, Zeus Hypsistos the earlier in the west, "Hypsistos," Kleine Paûly II 1292. Wholly different problem of interpretation are occasioned by the scholarly syncretism of Hypsistos and Sabazios, see infra, 171 ff.

and they frequently occur in inscriptions as epithets of deities other than Zeus, e.g. Helios, Apollo, Attis, Isis.[1]

A striking example of the Anatolian use of this adjective is that in SEG 19.847, a recently published inscription of the Imperial period from a site in Pisidia perhaps 100 miles south of Acmonia: "at the god's injunction," a Kointos (Quintus) Noumerios makes a dedication to _theos hypsistos_; the god is identified when the dedicant describes himself as a "priest of Mēn Ouranios," an indigenous moon-god not mentioned above.[2] This is an example of what Nilsson calls the _Drang zum Monotheismus_, a monotheism often expressed (as here) in cosmic terms; it is this characteristic of the Imperial period, more than a particular Jewish influence, which will be seen in the Anatolian Hypsistos inscriptions,[3] so that a particular Hypsistos inscription may be considered "possibly Jewish" only if it has no clear tie to a non-Jewish deity. What Robert calls "une interprétation systématiquement judaïsante du Dieu Très Haut"[1] is no longer possible.

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[1] On this last point, see Colpe "Hypsistos," Kleine Pauly II, 1292; for literary examples of this adjective used of many deities, see C. Bruchmann, Epitheta Deorum Quae Apud Poetas Graecos Leguntur (RL Suppl. 1 1893) passim. On epithets of Zeus and on Hypsistos as an epithet or divine name, Cook, Zeus II 868ff. and his index I, s.v. "Zeus, epithets" 1335-39.

[2] The inscription was originally published by G. Bean, "Notes and Inscriptions from Pisidia II," AnatStud 10 (1960) 65, no. 115; on Mēn generally, Nilsson GGR II 637, and at Sardis, Robert, Nouvelles Inscriptions 32-36.

[3] Kittel's use (in "Kleinas. Judentum," passim) of the many Hypsistos texts to produce a picture of a "Judaizing-process" spreading irresistably over the Empire and finally reversed only by Christianity is thus quite overdone; Goodenough's statement is more consonant with the evidence: "There are so many cases, especially in Asia Minor, where Theos Hypsistos obviously refers to a pagan deity, that in an isolated case like this one at Delos (he refers to CII 726-31), the phrase cannot be taken as more than possibly indicating Judaism," Symbols II 72 note 12.

On this basis, the following inscriptions from our area should be considered:[2]

Phrygia 1) CIG III 3842d from Aezani is a dedication to ___ Hypsistos (the first name is lost); in view of the large Zeus temple here and of other dedications mentioning the cult and priesthood of this temple,[3] "Zeus" is probably the deity implied, i.e. this inscription is probably not Jewish, as its context (rather than its content) implies.

2) Haji Keui near Aezani: a fragmentary dedication by an "Aur(elios) Asklepiades, mercifully freed from many sufferings

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[1] "Reliefs...d'Anatolie" 119 note 60, where, in a discussion of Keil's list of Hypsistos inscriptions from Lydia ("Kulte Lydiens" 255), Robert points out that the presence there of a female, Thea Hypsiste, is a "serious flaw" in Keil's stress ("Kulte Lydiens" 263f.) on the Jewishness of the epithet. Nock had earlier noted the damaging presence of this goddess ("Gild of Zeus Hypsistos" 62) and observed (64 note 63) that Keil in a later writing is "less confident about the explanation from Judaism." Overemphasis on the semitic sources of the term is still common, cf. C. Colpe, "Hypsistos," Kleine Pauly II 1291f., which begins by stating that the term gets "seine religioese Praegnanz als Uebersetzung des semit. Aequivalents Eljōn."

[2] Sources for the inscriptions examined: Keil's list, "Kulte Lydiens" 255. Cook's list for Lydia, Phrygia and (because he has no entry for Ionia as such) Caria and Mysia, Zeus II 879-83 (as supplemented by Nock in "Gild of Zeus Hypsistos"). CII. SEG.

[3] Cook, Zeus II 964-68.

after having prayed to theos hy(ps)istos."[1] Since all the Phrygian inscriptions refer to a Theos Hypsistos (rather than Zeus Hypsistos, or Hypsistos alone -- in the Aezani inscription supra the first word is lost but was probably Theos), the name of the deity here is no indication of Jewish origin, nor is the content of the inscription or the name of the dedicant, and the proximity of the Aezani Zeus-cult argues strongly for a non-Jewish origin. In the LXX, the title theos hypsistos occurs only four times, while hypsistos (anarthrous) and ho hypsistos each occur fifty times or more, another argument against Jewish origin (at the least, against LXX influence) in these texts; the LXX use of the adjective hypsistos is taken up in detail at the end of this section.

3) Nacoleia: IGRR IV 542, an Aur(elios) Asklapon makes a dedication to theos hypsistos in fulfillment of a vow made in Rome. Ramsay printed this inscription in 1884 along with a number of dedications to Zeus Bennios and Zeus Bronton from the same area; as he points out, this inscription refers to one or the other of these two gods or to an identification of them. The process of identification is clear in another inscription published at the same time; Theos Hypsistos would be a neutral or more encompassing title in such an identification.[2]

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[1] Printed by Cook, Zeus II 882 from the publication by A. Koerte, "Kleinasiatische Studien. VI," AthMitt 25 (1900) 405, no. 9.

[2] Ramsay, "Sepulchral Customs in Ancient Phrygia," JHS 5 (1884) 258f., no. 9; the deities are explicitly identified (both being named) in 258f., no. 10.

4) Arslan Apa in the Upper Tembris valley: a dated dedication (AD 253/54) to *theos hypsistos*, identified by J. Anderson (on the basis of similar texts nearby) as again Zeus Bennios.[1]

These first four inscriptions were from Phrygia Epictetus; three others are known from southern Phrygia: 5) the Acmonia text, discussed at the end of this section. 6) Laodicea: Ramsay published a fragmentary three-word text, part of a dedication to *theos hypsestos* (sic), which is too brief to identify positively or negatively.[2] 7) Apameia: SEG 6.266. θεῷ ὑψίστῳ εὐχήν. followed by the name and occupation of the dedicant. This is a dedication of standard pagan type from a town which shows the infant Zeus on at least one of its coins (time of Valerian, AD 253-60) and probably knew a legend of his birth on a nearby mountain.[3] The single Apameian Jewish inscription including the name of God, CII 773 (AD 253/54), uses simply *ton theon*. In a town with a strong Jewish population in this period (infra, chapter III C) some indication of the Jewish origin of a dedication is perhaps to

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[1] First published by Anderson, "Paganism and Christianity in the Upper Tembris Valley," in Ramsay, Studies 211, no. 9; in a detailed discussion, Cook (Zeus II 883) cites the Ramsay article mentioned in the preceding note in accepting the Anderson identification.

[2] Cities and Bishoprics 78, no. 14. If the form *theos hypsistos* is accepted as non-Jewish because of its rarity in the LXX, this text would then be non-Jewish, see full discussion at the end of this section.

[3] Cook, Zeus I 151f.

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be expected; SEG 6.266 shows no such indication and can only be called "possibly Jewish."[1]

Lydia 1) Saricam (between Magnesia and Thyateira, cf. chapter IV A): in IGRR IV 1176, from this location,[2] a certain Teimotheos, son of Diagoros, and his wife Moschion dedicate to *theos* *hypsistos* a *bomos* (a marble column, 90 cm high and ca. 40 cm in diameter) in fulfillment of a vow; to this point the dedication is like many of any one of a number of deities, but a second inscription is later added by Diagoras, Teimotheos and Pytheos, all sons of the first Teimotheos. They give to *hypsistos* τὰ λυχναψία a lamp-apparatus, perhaps with multiple wicks (the significance of the plural is unclear);[3] to judge from the cuttings in the top of the bomos, and the fragments of iron still in place in them, the lamp was of good size and fastened to the top of the bomos. A similar monument (roughly contemporary) from Pergamum, 30 miles northwest, has been plausibly identified as the dedication of a pagan converted to Judaism; also called a bomos in its dedicatory inscription, it bore a φωτοφόρος and a φλογοῦχος, a lamp with a wick-guard, and was dedicated to θεὸς κύριος ὁ ὢν εἰς ἀεί. Given the existence of this kind of dedication at Pergamum and the large Jewish community at nearby Sardis (and the smaller one at Thyateira) the Saricam bomos may perhaps have been the work of Lydian Jews or prosélytes.[1]

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[1] This inscription resembles MAMA VIII 298 (Ikonium, Lycaonia), both dealing with a "vow" to Theos Hypsistos, who could thus easily be simply the deity most important to the dedicant, the one god who was above, i.e. over all.

[2] IGRR errs in locating it at Aegae; on 17 August 1966 it was located, photographed and squeezed by the present writer at the spot (courtyard of the Saricam mosque) where it had been since first copied by A. Frontrier (who published it in 1886). Jones, Cities 83f., with note 93, identifies Saricam with the ancient Hierolophos.

[3] The 1966 photographs and squeeze (see preceding note) indicate that this is a noun in the neuter plural, not the feminine plural as in IGRR (followed by Nilsson, GGR II 664, note 5, second inscription quoted). The stone-cutter first wrote the singular article *to* but then, without erasing, cut an alpha over the omicron. The noun *to* *luchnapsion* is not listed in the lexica of Lampe, Sophocles, Preisigke or Liddell-Scott-Jones, but is related to the feminine *lychnapsia*, used by pagans (and Christians) with the meaning, "*(festival* or ceremony of) lamplighting."

2) Thyateira: two brief dedications to Theos Hypsistos (third century AD, or end of the second) by women, one by a Tryphosa, the other by an Euelpiste.[2] The second name occurs also in MAMA VI 325 (AD 255/56) and its masculine form Euelpistos in MAMA VI 316, Jewish inscriptions from Acmonia already discussed; names compounded with Eu- are not uncommon in pagan circles as well as in Jewish communities (cf. Eusambatios, CII 790), but the

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[1] Bickerman, "The Altar of Gentiles," 154 note 48 sees the same possibility. The recent article "Fackel," RAC VIII 154-217 (by J. Gagé) is a disappointment in this matter; it is divided into three sections, Greco-roman, Jewish and Christian, but the Jewish section is a bit more than two columns long (out of a total of 64) and contains nothing to the present topic. The Pergamum bomos is discussed infra, chapter IV A iii end.

[2] Keil-Premerstein, Zweite Reise 29 and 28, cf. Cook, Zeus II 881.

occurrence of a name known to have been used by Jews in an area with a large Jewish population suggests that Euelpiste may have been Jewish, and perhaps Tryphosa as well (the dedications are nearly identical). An ex-voto to theos hypsistos in the form of an eagle is also known at Thyateira; it is discussed in chapter IV A i.

3) Teira (less than 30 miles south of Sardis): A priest and his brother dedicate a bomos to theos hypsistos, IGRR IV 1658, AD 136. The lamp-dedications from Saricam and Pergamum were also called bomoi, and a recent inscription from the center of the Sardis synagogue floor (IN 66.3, discussed in chapter IV B iv) mentions a hiereus; although the Teira inscription is perhaps two centuries earlier than that at Sardis, it comes from a period when the Sardis Jews may be presumed to be quite powerful, so that the context of the inscription allows it to be considered Jewish. But would someone of Jewish blood and background (as indicated by the title hiereus) dedicate a bomos, given the negative connotation of this word in earlier Jewish literature? Note, for example, the controversy in 1 Macc. 1-2 over bomoi and the deliberate contrast in 1:54, 59 between pagan bomoi and the "biblical" thusiasterion.[1] The Pergamum and Saricam examples could perhaps be explained as the

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[1] Krauss, Syn. Alter. 31 points out that bomos (transliterated) was "used by the rabbis always with an evil connotation: (heathen) altar." In the LXX & NT, bomos is always used of a "pagan" altar, J. Behm, "thuo," TW III 182 note 8.

work of proselytes, but it is improbable that a Jew calling himself a "priest" could have made the Teira dedication.

4) Philadelphia: A more likely parallel to Teira is the dedication made in AD 229/30 by a "priest" θ]εῷ ὑψίτῳ (sic), μεγάλῳ θε[ῷ ; Philadelphia and Sardis are equally close to Teira and this inscription is a century earlier (i.e. closer to that from Teira) than that of the Sardis Jewish hiereus. Robert suggests that the Philadelphia priest might be honoring two deities, Theos Hypsistos and Mega Theion; this is clearly the case in an inscription from Borlu (25 miles northeast of Sardis and the same distance northwest of Philadelphia): θεῷ ὑψίστῳ καὶ μεγ[ά]λῳ θείῳ ἐπιφανεῖ Δημὼ θυγάτηρ Τυράννου θεὰν Λαρμηνὴν ἀνέστησεν (followed by the date, AD 181/82).[1] Here three deities are mentioned: Hypsistos, Theion and Thea Larmene, a local goddess; although the Sardis Jews were in all probability using their synagogue at this time, this Hypsistos inscription is surely not Jewish.

The remaining texts from Lydia (all but one to theos hypsistos) are simple dedications; as such they might be considered Jewish, except that the one is addressed to a goddess, Thea Hypsiste (Keil-Premerstein, Zweite Reise no. 189). This dedication is from Golde, a town 30 miles from Sardis in the direction of

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[1] "Reliefs...d'Anatolie" 112ff.; the Philadelphia inscription is discussed on 118.

Acmonia; it constitutes "a major flaw in the hypothesis of Jewish influence to explain Theos Hypsistos."[1] The original editors are correct in stating that the inscription is directed to "the great Anatolian mother-goddess."

Given the evidence for "cosmic" deities of this type in Lydia,[2] it would be quite possible for a Hypsistos inscription to turn up in the current Sardis excavations: in one ancient tradition Mt. Tmolos, visible from Sardis, is the birthplace of Zeus the Rainbringer (huetios); in the Orphic hymn to (Zeus) Sabazios this deity, Dionysos and the goddess Hypta are placed together on Tmolos (the hymns were apparently written in Asia Minor, perhaps ca. AD 200).[3] The town of Golde has also produced a first century AD dedication to Mother Hipta and Zeus Sabazios (Keil-Premerstein, Zweite Reise no. 188). Thus a Hypsistos inscription found in Sardis (even found built into the synagogue, whose walls are full of reused marbles) would not necessarily be Jewish.

While the evidence from Lydia and Phrygia usually mentions Theos Hypsistos, that from the coast is less ambiguous. Thus the rather common dedications to *Zeus* Hypsistos (by name) need not be considered; it is all but certain that they intend the pagan deity in one or another form. Nock once considered it just possible that an Anatolian "Jew or Judaizer" might have used the name Zeus of his God; but in the 30 years since Nock wrote, new evidence for and a greater understanding of western Anatolian religions have reduced even that small possibility still further.[1] The pagan "highest" deities in this area are too well attested now to be ignored; it is to one of them that a "Zeus Hypsistos" inscription will refer. Inscriptions which couple Hypsistos and another deity are also omitted;[2] the following evidence from the western coast remains:

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[1] Robert, "Reliefs...d'Anatolie" 119 note 60.

[2] Robert, "Reliefs...d'Anatolie" 112-23 is a useful summary.

[3] Cook, Zeus II 957 discussed the legends of Mt. Tmolos. The Orphic hymn is no. 48; no. 49 (to Hypta) also mentions Bakchos and Sabos (Dionysos and Sabazios?) and Mt. Tmolos. On the date and location of the hymns, K. Ziegler, "Orphische Dichtung," RE 18 (1942) 1332. On alleged Jewish elements in the cults of Dionysos and Sabazios, see chapter IV A.

Mysia 1) Panormos: the "Thallos" dedication to Zeus Hypsistos is discussed in chapter IV A iii because it is often said to indicate a major overlap between Hypsistos, Sabazios and Anatolian Judaism, but see the discussion infra. 2) Pergamum: two small altars of white marble were published by the Berlin excavators, one to *theos hypsistos*, the other to *helios theos hypsistos*; in all probability both are to "Helios, the highest god," though the editor, M. Fraenkel, suggests rather "the trinity of Zeus, Helios and Serapis."[1]

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[1] Nock, "Gild of Zeus Hypsistos" 65 note 69.

[2] Theos Hypsistos is associated with Ἁγεία Καταφυγή in a dedication published by G. E. Bean, "Notes and Inscriptions from Pisidia, II," AnatStud 10 (1960) 70, no. 122. The language is that of the LXX, cf. Ex 17:15 and Ps 90:9 LXX (= 91:9 RSV), as Robert states, "Bull. épigr." (1965), no. 412; however, the "holy refuge" is probably the Virgin Mary, cf. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon 726. The suggestion of Lifshitz, "Le culte du Dieu Très Haut a Gorgippa," Riv.Fil. 92 (1964) 160 note 6, that the deity in question is the Roman Sancta Tutela (whose name is not otherwise attested in Greek) is quite improbable.

Caria 1) Miletus: Two inscriptions concern one Oulpios Karpos; as "the priest of the most holy Theos Hypsistos Soter" he is honored by "the city gardeners" (OGIS 755) and as "the prophet of the most high Theos Hypsistos" by "the guild of shell-fish spearers" (OGIS 756). Nock suggests two interpretations: "the inscriptions may show Jewish influence --- to judge from the cumulative effect of the epithets: or they may be related to the monotheistic trend of the oracle of Claros."[2] "Jewish influence" on non-Jewish dedicants is quite possible, but that the inscriptions stem from members of the Jewish community at Miletus is much less so (cf. chapter II A). 2) Tralles: a dedication to Theos Hypsistos "in accordance with (a command given in) a dream" probably refers to Zeus.[3]

In the Acmonian text with which this section began (CII 769), the rather unusual formulation ho theos ho hypsistos is used although in the examples reviewed above, *ho hypsistos theos* and (*theos*) *hypsistos* are much more frequent. The strange curse from Rhenea, Delos, CII 725, also uses *ho theos ho hypsistos*, but the Acmonia text is the only example from Asia Minor. The Acmonian dedicant apparently knew something of the LXX, since he quoted a bit of it in the dozen preserved words of his text (section iv supra). In his use of *ho theos ho hypsistos*, he may be copying the LXX, which uses this version of the title some 18 times, while the most common version in the above Anatolian texts, *theos hypsistos*, occurs only four times in the LXX.[1] The man who wrote CII 769 appears to have chosen his words carefully, loading the epitaph with the language of his faith; it may be taken as a counter-statement to the pagan Hypsistos dedications: "(In contrast to the pagan deities called *theoi hypsistoi*,) I call upon *the* Highest God."

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[1] M. Fraenkel, Die Inschriften von Pergamon II (Altertuemer von Pergamon VIII.2) 1895, 243f., no. 330f.

[2] Nock, "Gild of Zeus Hypsistos" 67 note 75, adding "We have no information as to the date of these texts." In a rare lapse, he distinguishes the priest (OGIS 755) from the prophet (OGIS 756) though both have the same name; Nilsson sees that both refer to the same person, GGR II 664 note 4.

[3] So Schultze, II.2 126 note 3. The inscription was published by I. Mitsos, Mouseion (1873-75) 95, no. 89.

This treatment of *hypsistos* has not dealt directly with the question of Jewish "influence" upon the religious vocabulary of non-Jews, although it is possible that, in a text not of Jewish origin, the occurrence of the adjective could be the result of the writer's taking over a term he knew from Jewish use. This explanation must be recognized as unattractive from a statistical point of view; the odds are usually against it. In western Asia Minor at least, the epithet is used in many texts and applied to a number of major deities most of whom antedate Anatolian Judaism (although the inscriptions quoted are mainly from the time of the Empire). It is thus more consonant with the evidence to understand the adjective hypsistos as analogous to the more common epithet epekoos. As O. Weinreich has shown, this term is used of over 50 gods and goddesses in the Imperial period; to his evidence should now be added the dedications of the god Mēn, who bears the title precisely in the geographical area now under consideration.[1] In spite of the term's frequency, no one postulates a single deity Epekoos or asks that all its occurrences be derived from a single source. The desire for a god "who listens (to our prayers)" is characteristic of the piety of the period, just as is the desire for the god who is supreme, "highest." The occurrence either of epekoos or of hypsistos in a given text cannot indicate very much about the person who caused the word to be written.[2]

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[1] Judging from Hatch-Redpath 1420f., the LXX uses *hypsistos* (alone) of God 54 times, *ho hypsistos* 50 times, *ho theos hypsistos* once, *hypsistos theos* not at all. Of the nine NT uses of *hypsistos* for God, four use the form *ho theos ho hypsistos* (Mk. 5:11 // Lk. 8:28, Acts 16:7, Hebr. 7:1); the remainder use *hypsistos* (anarthrous) except for Acts 7:48, *ho hypsistos*. The Apostolic Fathers use *ho hypsistos* five times (all in 1 Clem.), *hypsistos* once (introduction of Ignatius' letter to Rome).

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[1] G. Bean, "Notes and Inscriptions from Pisidia I," AnatStud 9 (1959) 73.

[2] The Weinreich article is "theoi epekooi," AthMitt 37 (1912) 1-68; the second part (46-68) is a fascinating discussion of votive reliefs depicting only (the god's) ears, a graphic example of the meaning of epekoos. See also Cook, Zeus, indices s.v. "Zeus, epithets"; Nock, "Gild of Zeus Hypsistos" 61, 65; and especially M. Avi-Yonah, "Syrian Gods at Ptolemais-Accho," IEJ 9 (1959) 5ff.

vi

Another inscription from Acmonia, identified as Christian by Ramsay (Cities and Bishoprics no. 455-57), has been shown by Robert to be Jewish; it may help identify a "Jewish quarter" in the city.[1] A certain Aur(elios) Aristeas purchased a plot from Markos Math(i)os and turned it over to what Ramsay called the neighborhood "burial and benefit society" (ἡ γειτοσύνη τῶν πρ[ωτ]οπυλειτῶν) , on the condition that they annually decorate his wife's grave with roses; [ἐὰν μὴ ἐθέλωσιν] ῥοδίσαι κατὰ ἔτος, [ἔσ]ται αὐτοῖς πρὸ[ς τὴ]ν δικαιοσύ[νην] τοῦ θεοῦ.

Ramsay is of course aware of the Acmonian Jews and cites Jewish evidence in his discussion of the inscription, but does not consider the possibility that this inscription might be Jewish; his discussion of its Christian nature centers around the annual rose-ceremony (rhodismos, Rosalia) stipulated in the text. The Rosalia is however an Italian festival which penetrated Asia Minor and became so firmly entrenched and so widely practiced by Christians and pagans that the Church could not eliminate it, but rather turned it into a ceremony particularly honoring saints and martyrs; it is this Byzantine custom which Ramsay describes.[2] The present text is from the third century; the actual date is partly obliterated but enough remained for Ramsay to set AD 215-95 as firm limits. The custom itself is "religioes indifferent," as Nilsson stresses repeatedly; it is "ein allgemeines Freudenfest ohne bestimmt religioesen Charakter": in the spring graves would be decorated with newly-blooming roses or other flowers, and a banquet held[1] (in this case, by the Protopyleitai). If, in the third century, an originally pagan custom could be taken over by Christians, it could as well have been practiced by Jews, particularly if the Jews made up a respectable part of the city's population and were integrated into its political and social life. (Further on Anatolian Jewish burials, chapter III D i).

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[1] Robert, Hellenica XI-XII (1960) 409-12; the text is also discussed by B. Laum, Stiftungen I 83-86; II no. 174.

[2] Cities and Bishoprics 563f.; Ramsay was particularly interested in distinguishing Christian texts from pagan ones, but it is now clear that the characteristics he used as criteria for this (e.g. presence of the "Eumenian formula" of LXX quotations or allusions)

Robert advances three reasons for calling the inscription Jewish rather than Christian: the "semitic" name Math(i)os, the presence of dikaiosyne theou in a Eumenian formula in this text, and the proved existence of a sizable Jewish community in the neighborhood in the third century. He cites other occurrences of Mathios and related names from outside Acmonia, particularly from

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(continued from preceding page) occur in Jewish inscriptions as well as in Christian ones. The standard treatments of the Rosalia are by Nilsson: "Rosalia," RE (2.Reihe) 1 (1914) 1111-15 and "Das Rosenfest," Opuscula Selecta I (1951) 311-29 originally published in Beitraege z. Religionswiss. II (1918) 133-54. See also Laum, Stiftungen I 83-87 and R. Lattimore, Themes 135-41.

[1] Nilsson, in the two articles cited in the preceding note; the quotations are from the RE article, 1114 and 1112.

Palestine.[1] In Acmonia itself the Jews appear to avoid names of Semitic root.[2] No examples of a *signum* or *Beiname* appear either, indicating that if the Acmonian Jews had other names in addition to the typically Greek ones which appear in their inscriptions, they customarily did not record them as such (contrast Hierapolis, chapter III D); thus the name Mathios is given without one of the usual *signum* formulae.

Its use of *dikaiosune* *theou* to threaten a potential grave-molester suggests that this text is Jewish, not Christian. As Bousset-Gressmann point out, in the OT God's righteousness (צדק, צדקה) is bound up in his relationship to his people, the nation Israel, in the obligations and responsibilities of God and people (each toward the other) within the covenant; in the later Hellenistic period, the idea of "the nation" or "the people" as a religious community is replaced by an emphasis on the individual believer, and God's righteousness is associated "first of all with a punishing, angry, condemning God, less frequently with a God who rewards the pious."[1] This late Jewish idea of _dikaiosune_ is quite appropriate to use in a curse, as a parallel to the "scythe of curse," "the curses written in Deuteronomy," the "wrath of God" and other threats (already discussed) which appear in the Acmonian Jewish inscriptions. The many-sided and quite theologized _dikaiosune_ of the NT is less suitable as a clear and simple equivalent of "wrath" or "punishment"; it seems very unlikely, for example, that anyone familiar with the Pauline use of the term would use it to enforce a curse.[2] The appearance of the word in a

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[1] The syllable Math- comes at the end of a line, with -os on the next; Robert assumes that an iota was lost (due to damage to the stone), thus "Math(i)os." On the name, Robert says: "Le nom ne semble naturellement pas connu parmi les noms grecs. On ne l'a pas enregistré parmi les noms indigènes de l'Asie Mineure," Hellenica XI-XII (1960) 411. He offers one example of the same name from a Jerusalem ossuary, CII 1275, and a number of related Syrian & Palestinian names, e.g. Ματταθίου (CII 1276), מתיה (CII 1240 & 1246), all from Jerusalem, and Μαθάς (CII 1061) from Beth Shearim.

[2] Ramsay once thought that the name Salimachos (Cities and Bishoprics no. 565 = CII 763) was Semitic, cf. The Bearing, 363f., 367: when the text was republished as MAMA VI 287 the new editors preferred to emend to (K)alimachos. Its "children's children" grave protection curse marks it as probably Jewish, cf. section iii supra.

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[1] Bousset-Gressmann 381, cf. 378-94. This rise in individualism is a widely attested characteristic of the Hellenistic period, and continues to grow in the Imperial period, cf. the common image of the _cosmopolites_, the man who considers the entire cosmos his _polis_ (frequently because he has no particular community and nowhere feels "at home"). With the passing of old communities, new "communities" are needed and they are frequently religious, cults in which the unifying factor is not so much national or social ties, but the cult association itself, cf. Nilsson, GGR II 292ff. This is of course a major reason for the popularity of newer, eastern religions (including "Diaspora" Christianity) within the Roman Empire. If the Qumran community's understanding of God's righteousness seems more in line with the OT than with the first century, it is probably because of this group's understanding of itself as a new, self-contained "true Israel," in which the older conception of God's relation to his people seems again valid, cf. Ringgren, Faith of Qumran 137, 63-67.

[2] In the voluminous literature on Paul's use of _dikaiosune_, see the recent exchange between E. Kaesemann, "Gottesgerechtigkeit bei Paulus," ZTK 58 (1961) 367-78, reprinted in his Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen II (1964) 181-93, and R. Bultmann, "_dikaiosune theou_," JBL 83 (1964) 12-16; whatever the outcome of

"Eumenian formula" is not surprising, since Jewish use of the formula probably antedates the Christian use, though Christian examples are now more common (cf. chapter III A i supra).

Finally, there appears in the Jewish community at Hierapolis a custom related to the Rosalia: in CII 777 a sum of money is provided, from the interest of which the grave is to be decorated annually "at the festival of unleavened bread"; a further inscription (Cities and Bishoprics no. 28, not in CII) also provides for annual ceremonies, presumably in memory of the deceased, "on the customary day" (see the discussion, chapter III D i).

If the Acmonian inscription is Jewish (as is probable), it furnishes the following additional information about the Jewish community: a) The Jews followed local customs in memorializing their dead; in IGRR IV 661 (AD 85) the archons of Acmonia and the grammateus of the city council are made responsible for a Rosalia just as are the Protopyleitai in the present inscription.[1]

(continued from preceding page) their debate, it is quite obvious that the term has become so complex in Christian texts and (in particular) so much associated with the grace (rather than the judgment) of God, as to be quite inappropriate for the use to which it is put in Acmonia. On dikaiosune in the LXX, see C. H. Dodd, The Bible and the Greeks (1935) 42-59. Its variegated meaning in the early fathers is evident from a glance at the article s.v. in Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon 369f. The pertinent TW article (II 174-225) is by G. Quell and G. Schrenk.

[1] IGRR IV 661 = Laum, Stiftungen II no. 173. A rhodismos is mentioned in an elaborate Hadrianic dedication from Pergamum, M. Fraenkel op. cit. (page 106, note 1) no. 374, side B, line 8, with a detailed note on the festival 265f.

b) The "neighborhood (society) of the Protopyleitai" is probably a local Jewish association (a legal entity capable of executing the provisions of wills) taking its name from the area in which the members lived, around the "main (or first) gate" of the city; while a neighborhood might be thus united "merely on account of the contiguity of the people,"[1] here the common bond of the members is their Judaism. They lived in the area ("neighborhood") around the main city gate, and formed a "neighborhood (society)." c) This society became the possessor of the land which Aristeas had purchased, on the condition that it carry out the annual Rosalia at his wife's grave; the bequest shows it to be a burial society, and it may have had other functions as well. d) Since the Acmonian Jewish community as a whole, and its synagogue, are not mentioned in the text, it is possible that the Protopyleitai are a group within the synagogue as well, i.e. that they are grouped together as the synagogue members who live near the main city gate, in contrast to Jews who live elsewhere in the city.[2]

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[1] Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics 563; the Josephus text he cites (BJ 7.73) is inconclusive, but the inscriptions offered from Side and Ephesus are clear enough.

[2] Ramsay has attempted to characterize this neighborhood in "Early Christian Monuments in Phrygia...II," Expositor 28 (1888) 409; his picture is useless however, since it is based on the hypothesis that the "neighborhood (society)" was Christian and that Acmonian Christians would be of the lower classes and live in "a poor and unfashionable part of the city." If the Protopyleitai are a group within the Jewish community, they recall the phyle Leontion of the Sardis synagogue inscriptions, discussed infra, chapter IV B vi.

Ramsay's standard treatment of Acmonia (Cities and Bishoprics, chapter XIV and XV.3) with its powerful, upper-class Jews, its Jewish-influenced pagans and its humble Christians (forming a church "of a debased type, much infected by non-Christian elements") thus requires extensive revision. The city's Jews and pagans (and probably its Christians as well) had much in common: no group appears to be set apart, but all mix in the social and economic life of the city. In the most abundant preserved evidence, the tombstones, shape and style of decoration do not differ very much. The Jews (or at least a group of them) own a private burial plot, but such graveyards (administered by a burial association) are common throughout the ancient world and are not peculiar to Jews.[1]

In the fourth century the balance of pagan, Christian and Jew in the Acmonia district begins to be upset; of this we have evidence about the conflict of Christian and pagan (e.g. Cities and Bishoprics no. 467-69), but nothing regarding the Acmonian Jews.

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[1] On the "burial club" or collegia funeratica, S. Dill, Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius (1905) 256-62 and chapter III generally ("The Colleges and Plebian Life"). The Jewish custom of burying only among the graves of fellow-Jews (cf. Juster, Juifs I 477-85) is not always observed in Asia Minor, where pagan, Christian and Jewish graves are sometimes found together in one graveyard, J. Keil, "Asia," RAC I 748, CII vol. 2, pp. 40-42 and MAMA III p. 121.

Appendix: The Numbers Used to Identify Acmonian Inscriptions

The CII section on this city gives perhaps half of the published evidence available in 1952 when the CII volume including Asia Minor was issued. Nevertheless, in the text CII numbers are given unless another edition of the inscription is more accurate, in which case the CII number (if one exists) will be listed second.

The following table coordinates the numbers of Acmonian Jewish inscriptions as printed in CII, Cities and Bishoprics, Ramsay's The Bearing 353-69 ("The Old Testament in Roman Phrygia"), IGRR IV and MAMA VI. Some inscriptions are listed in all five works (e.g. CII 765 = Cities and Bishoprics no. 566 = IGRR IV 638 = MAMA VI 277 = Bearing p. 363f., no. 6), and a table of cross-references is essential.

CII	Cities and Bishoprics	Bearing	IGRR IV	MAMA VI	
760		1		335a	
762	567	7		176	SEG 6.171
763	565	5		287	
764	562				
765	566	6	638	277	
766	559		655	264	
767		8		227*	
768	465f.	3		316	
769	563	4		209*	
770	564	2	658	174*	
771	561			150*	
	526			325	
	455-57			208*	Laum, Stiftungen II no. 174

The following appear in but one work: MAMA VI 323, 334-36, 339, 347 and SEG 6.172.

A MAMA VI number followed by an asterisk (e.g. MAMA VI 176*) indicates that the stone, adequately published by earlier epigraphists, was found again by Buckler, Calder et al., but not republished in MAMA VI.

Three inscriptions from MAMA VI are questionable: 323 is very fragmentary but may contain a curse similar to that in CII 765 (which is clearly Jewish). 336 is an example of the "Eumenian formula" which could be Christian. The fragmentary 339 is treated as Christian by the editors, who concede that it "may instead be Jewish," MAMA VI p. xvii.

Apameia is 25 miles southeast of Eumeneia (chapter III A supra), some 50 miles east-northeast of the Lycus Valley (chapter III D infra), and about 110 miles east-southeast of Sardis; it is necessarily connected to all these by direct roads, since it is the major commercial city for this part of Asia and "second only to Ephesus" (Strabo, Geog. 12.8.15) as a trade center in the province.[1]

i

The Jews of Apameia are first attested in Cicero's speech pro Flacco (59 BC), a defense of L. Valerius Flaccus, governor of Asia in 62 BC; among other charges, Flaccus was accused of seizing the funds of four Anatolian Jewish communities: "at Apameia a little less than a hundred pounds of gold,...at Laodicea a little more than twenty pounds,...at Adramyttium (lacuna),...at Pergamum a small amount," (Flac. 68, trans. L. Lord, Loeb ed.) Cicero indicates that these funds were for the temple tax, the annual contribution of adult male Jews toward the support of the cultus in Jerusalem; Cicero attacks the Jews' barbara superstitio and praises Flaccus for "thwarting" it, Flac. 67. Of the four towns mentioned,

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[1] On Apameia as a commercial center, Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics 416ff., 424ff.; his chapter 11 is an elaborate discussion of the city and its history (396-483), see also 667-72 on Apameian Jews. Further, Magie, Roman Rule 983f.; Jones, Cities 69-71; H. Leclercq, "Apamée," DACL I.2 (1907) 2500-23 (bibliography, 2521-23); Schuerer, Geschichte III 18f.; J. Gutmann, "Apamea," EJ 2 (1928) 1129-31; S. Krauss JE 1 (1901) 662. On the inscriptions, MAMA VI, p. xv and 64-88.

Adramyttium and Pergamum are less than 30 miles apart on the western coast of the province, Laodicea and Apameia equally close together in the east; the large sum (120 pounds of gold) from the latter two[1] suggests an extensive Jewish population in the area, bringing its annual contributions to local centers for shipment to Jerusalem. There is nothing to indicate that the figure is the result of more than one year's collection, held up at Apameia and Laodicea and not sent on; Apameia's commercial prominence demands facilities for the rapid transport of large sums.

ii

The Jewish community at Apameia has been frequently mentioned by students of early Christian art, because of three local coins (first half of the third century AD) depicting a box-shaped "ark" over which flies a bird with a leafy branch in its beak; a man and a woman are shown in the ark, which bears the label "Noe." It has been suggested that a Jewish artistic tradition represented by these coins (or by a large painting or frieze on public display in Apameia, on which the coins are modelled) had a decisive influence on preconstantinian Christian art,[1] but the proved convergence flood stories of pagan and Jewish origin in Phrygia and the non-Jewish origin of the city's second name Kibotos make it difficult to support the claim that a distinctively Jewish tradition is represented on the coins.

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[1] Equal to the tax paid by 50,000 (?) men, at the rate of the customary "half-shekel" (two drachmas?) each; the figures can be only approximate, see Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics 667. For a discussion of the Flaccus trial and the Jews in Rome, Leon, Jews of Ancient Rome 5-8.

Apameia is given a second name, Kibotos (box, chest, coffer --the LXX word for Noah's ark), as early as Strabo, Geog. 12.6.4; Strabo died in Pontus ca. AD 21, thus it may be assumed that the name Apameia Kibotos was in use by the late Hellenistic period if not earlier. Head has suggested that it became related popularly to the city's importance as a commercial center;[2] this is supported by Hadrianic coins, one with two, another with three and two with five chests (kibotoi) pictured on the border, reflecting the name and perhaps the commerce of the city.[3]

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[1] The most recent discussion is H. Strauss, "Juedische Quellen fruehchristlicher Kunst," ZNW 57 (1966) 134-36 (with negative conclusions). See also Goodenough, Symbols II 119f.; J. Fink, Noe der Gerechte in der fruehchristlichen Kunst (Beihefte zum Archiv fuer Kulturgeschichte No. 4, 1955) 9, 15 and generally, H. Rahner, Symbole der Kirche (1964) 504-16 (bibliography, 504 note 1). The coins are most conveniently seen in H. Leclercq, "Apamée," DACL I.2 (1907) 2515f., fig. 825-27; Goodenough prints one example, Symbols III 700.

[2] Head, Coins of Lydia, p. xxxii, cf. Goodenough, Symbols II 120; the suggestions had been made earlier by G. Hirschfeld but rejected by Schuerer and Ramsay, who preferred a Jewish origin, cf. Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics 671 note 2.

[3] The coins are in Head, Coins of Lydia, p. 96, no. 155-58; Goodenough, Symbols II 120 note 129, mentions other coins which show kibotoi in place of the city name, making Head's suggestion even more plausible.

Also in the Hellenistic period, indigenous and "Greek" flood stories were in the process of combination in Phrygia, as most recently Fontenrose has shown; the tale of Baucis and Philemon (Ovid, Metam. 8.611-724) which takes place in the "Phrygian hills" (line 621) is his most obvious evidence.[1] Calder suggests that Ovid's source is "a genuine Anatolian legend" brought to Rome by a member of Quirinius' army after the Homanadensian War in the last decade of the first century BC; this is supported by Ovid's own stress on the story's authenticity -- it comes from an eyewitness (lines 622, 719-23).[2] Further, Fontenrose identifies a broad network of flood traditions in this area, due in part to its geographical instability; "the evidence suggests that a number of places in southern Phrygia and Lycaonia claimed to be the home or refuge of the flood hero. A large part of the region shows suitable conditions for the story. As Calder says, the region along the northern base of the Taurus is unstable, one of extinct volcanoes, hot springs and frequent earthquakes."[1]

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[1] J. Fontenrose, "Philemon, Lot and Lycaon," (University of California Publications in Classical Philology no. 13, 1945) 93-119 (bibliography, 93 note 2); for an earlier attempt which focused more on Apameia, made use of less evidence but advanced more far-reaching (often poorly substantiated) hypotheses about the combination of Jewish and indigenous traditions, see A. Reinach, "Noé Sangariou," REJ 65 (1913) 161-180; 66 (1913) 1-43, 213-45; the major section on the Apameia evidence is 65: 173-80. The theoxeny motif in Ovid (the visit of Jupiter and Mercury disguised as mortals) occurs also in the story of Paul and Barnabas, taken for Hermes and Zeus at Lystra, Lycaonia (ca. 110 miles east-southeast of Apameia), Acts 14:8-18, Fontenrose 105, Beginnings IV 163-67 and H. Conzelmann, Die Apostelgeschichte (HNT no. 7, 1963) 79-81.

[2] W. Calder, "New Light on Ovid's Story of Philemon and Baucis," Discovery III (1922) 207-11.

By ca. the second century AD these Anatolian flood stories and the name Kibotos had been taken up by the Jewish author of Sibylline Oracles I 261-67:

> At (K)elainai in the land of Phrygia there is a certain mountain called Ararat, sheer and high....There where are the sources of the great river Marsyas the Ark (kibotos) came to rest on a high outcropping when the waters had subsided.[2]

Marsyas is the river in Apameia most often mentioned by classical authors, and Kelainai (an earlier name for Apameia, perhaps unknown to later copyists) was certainly the original final word of line 261 (Κελαινῆς for the μελαίνης of the present text); Ararat is the name given in Gen 8:4 for the mountain landing-site of Noah's ark.[1] The Jew who wrote these lines may well be the originator (at least the first known recorder) of this account; the Jewish community in Apameia is the most likely place for the origin and preservation of a story connecting the name Apameia Kibotos and the LXX *kibotos*, Noah's ark. The tale was probably also the subject of a frieze or painting on public display in Apameia, since all the ark-coins appear to be copies of a larger work; Ramsay has postulated a "painted stoa" in the city, containing representations of a number of local myths, and including the story of Noah done as an Apameian scene.[2]

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[1] Fontenrose art. cit. (preceding page, note 1) 105, cf. 104f. and on the "native (Phrygian) flood story" now taken up in the "classical" flood tales of Deucalion and of Baucis and Philemon, 113, cf. 109-113. The easy paralleling of flood stories from all over the eastern Mediterranean, as practiced by Fontenrose and also by Reinach, art. cit. (preceding page, note 1), takes insufficient account of the specific nature of local traditions, often tied to a certain mountain or a particular (sometimes historical) tidal wave or flood; the Phrygian-Lycaonian evidence is specific however, backed by coins and inscriptions, and thus useful for the present purpose.

[2] On the text as Jewish, J. Geffcken, Komposition und Entstehungszeit der Oracula Sibyllina (Texte und Untersuchungen, no. 23.1, n.f. no. 8.1, 1902) 49-52 (dated to the third century AD on the basis of the Apameia coins, 49); Rzach, "Sibyllinische Orakel," RE (2. Reihe) 2 (1923) 2148; A. Kurfess, "Oracula Sibyllina I/II." ZNW 40 (1941) 151-56 and idem, in Hennecke, Apocrypha II 707; generally, Nilsson, GGR II 481-85.

iii

The three Jewish inscriptions from Apameia are epitaphs with grave-protection curses: MAMA VI 231 has already been discussed

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[1] On the Marsyas River, Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics 399-401 (on the related legend of the river-god Marsyas, 414f.); on the name Kelainai, 421, cf. 412-14, 416-21. Both Ramsay (454) and Leclercq, "Apamée," DACL I.2 (1907) 2501f. suggest this textual change. On Ararat, M. Mellink s.v. IDB I 194f.

[2] Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics 431-34, 670; it is this painting which becomes the evidence for an Apameian Jewish artistic tradition thought to lie behind early Christian art, see the beginning of this section. The representation of the ark as a box or chest (on the coins) rather than as a ship (as in Gen 6:14-16) may be derived from the dual meaning of *kibotos* (LXX: "ark"; in the Apameian tradition: "chest"), but another flood story, that of Deucalion, does specify that he build a *larnax* (chest, box) in which to ride out the catastrophe, so Plutarch, Moralia 2.968F; Lucian, Dea Syra 12; Apollodoros 1.7.2; the Deucalion story is included in Fontenrose's article (cited page 121, note 1) passim.

(chapter III A i). CII 773 (dated AD 253-54) uses the Eumenian formula and a fine, while CII 774 (also third century) threatens with "the law of the Jews" those who would bury an outsider in the grave. The latter phrase is a variation of grave curses (exactly contemporary) known from the vicinity of Acmonia (chapter III B ii supra); the "law" is the OT, just as in CII 760 (AD 248-49) where the violators are threatened with "the curses written in Deuteronomy." The frequency of OT references in Phrygian Jewish grave curses made unnecessary[1] Ramsay's suggestion that the Jews had arranged for a special civil law protecting their graves; the desire to secure one's grave from violation is a deeply rooted one in Phrygia (cf. chapter III D i infra), affecting the more indigenous population and consequently the Jews as well.

In rabbinic texts the words אפמיא and אספמיא sometimes translated "Apameia" do not appear to refer to the Phrygian city, but to the Syrian Apameia on the Orontes River, or, when the word is used proverbially of a town at a great distance, to Spain (Hispania).[2]

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[1] As he later realized, The Bearing 365; original suggestion, Cities and Bishoprics 538.

[2] S. Krauss argues for the Phrygian Apameia in three texts from the Babylonian Talmud (page references to the Soncino translation): Berakoth 62a (p. 391), Niddah 30b (p. 211) and Yebamoth 115b (p. 815); nothing at all in these texts points to Phrygia however, and one or the other of the sites already suggested is more probable, see his discussion of the texts, "Apamea," JE 1 (1901) 661f.

At the point where the Lycus River intersects the ancient road from Ephesus through Tralles to Apameia and the northeast are clustered the cities of the Lycus Valley, Hierapolis, Laodiceia and Colossae; a circle thirteen miles in diameter would encompass all three. The closest modern city is Denizli, from which Hierapolis is eleven miles and Laodiceia only four miles north-northeast, Colossae ten miles directly east.[1] The highway from Phrygia Epictetus south through Eumeneia and another from Smyrna east through Sardis and Philadelphia intersected the Ephesus-Apameia road here; Sardis is 75 miles west-northwest.

i

Hierapolis has been more completely explored by archeologists than the other two cities,[2] consequently all Jewish inscriptions known from the Lycus Valley were found here. The official name of the city changes from Hieropolis ("temple-city") to Hierapolis ("holy city") in the time of Augustus; in later Christian texts it is sometimes confused with the Hieropolis some 70 miles to the northeast, just off the road to Phrygia Epictetus via Eumeneia. Both cities lie in Phrygia, but the northern Hieropolis is notable in early Church history chiefly as the findspot of the Abercius inscription (ca. AD 200), while it is Hierapolis in the Lycus Valley which is mentioned in the NT (Col. 4:13), is the last home and burial place of Philip the deacon and his prophetess daughters (so Polycrates of Ephesus apud Eusebius, HE 3.31.3f.), and is associated with Papias and the apologist Apollinaris (and with Epictetus).[1]

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[1] Detailed map in Ramsay, Church in the Roman Empire 472. The Christian congregations of the three cities are mentioned together in Col 4:13, cf. Sherman Johnson, "Laodicea and its Neighbors," BA 13 (1950) 1-18.

[2] C. Humann et al., Altertuemer von Hierapolis (Jahrbuch des deutschen archaeologischen Instituts, Ergaenzungsheft IV, 1898) is the earlier report. On the recent Italian excavations, see Paulo Verzone, "Le campagne 1960 e 1961 a Hierapolis di Frigia," ASAtene 23-24 (1961-62) 633-47, and "Le campagne 1962-1964 a Hierapolis di Frigia," ASAtene 25-26 (1963-64) 371-89, cf. 351-70, 391-433 (supplementary reports on inscriptions and architecture). Also, Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics, chapter 3, and Magie, Roman Rule 127f. with notes.

Most of the inscriptions from Hierapolis are epitaphs, furnishing a rather full picture of local burial rules and customs; graves were usually prepared by their future occupants, who would record their intents for the plot on the stones. As usually in Phrygia, those who were to be buried there are carefully stipulated, and others excluded, often in the strongest terms; fines were levied on would-be intruders, with perhaps the city council or a local trade association (ergasia) made responsible for collecting the fine. A sum of money was often provided from the estate of the deceased for the annual decoration of the tomb with garlands or "crowns" of flowers (stephanotikon). A number of stones state that a copy of the regulations recorded thereon has been deposited in "the archives" (*ta* *archeia*) as further insurance that the stipulations be carried out.[1]

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[1] Much of H. Leclercq's "Hierapolis et Hieropolis," DACL 6.2 (1925) 2377-81 is devoted to clearing up the confusion between the two towns.

The Jewish inscriptions (second-third century AD) indicate that Hierapolitan Jews possessed their own archives (τὸ ἀρχ⟨ε⟩ῖον τῶν Ἰουδαίων) for deposit of tomb regulations and (presumably) of other documents as well (CII 775, cf. CII 776, 778f.); such "archives of the Jews" existed also in Alexandria (CPJ no. 143 line 7f., 13 BC). In the Stobi synagogue in Macedonia (CII 694, end of the third century) the "patriarch" of the community is made responsible for collecting fines from tomb-violators; in inscriptions from Smyrna (CII 741, chapter III B v supra) and Thyateira (CII 752, chapter IV A i infra) the *archeia* mentioned are probably the public (not the Jewish) archives.[2]

The Jews of Hierapolis also adopted the practice of annual observances at the graves of their dead: CII 777 leaves a sum of money from whose interest the grave is to be "crowned" with flowers (*stephanotikon*) annually ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν ἀζύμων . The *azuma* is the Jewish festival of unleavened bread, the seven days following the evening of the Passover.[1] The council at Laodiceia in the fourth century forbade Christians from receiving azuma, unleavened bread, from the Jews and from "taking part in their impieties" (Canon 38, cf. chapter III D vi infra); Christians had apparently had some contact with the azuma festival on occasion, but the grave-crowning ceremony in CII 777 is Jewish. The same inscription provides for further rites at the grave on Pentecost, the Jewish Feast of Weeks, but damage to the stone has obliterated the words which stated the nature of these rites. The "crowning" of this grave with flowers is a practice not unlike the Roman Rosalia or rose-festival; a second inscription, from Acmonia and probably Jewish, calls for the annual observance of this custom (discussed in chapter III B vi). In both cases graves were decked with flowers, but in the Hierapolis inscription this is to be done during two Jewish festivals; the Rosalia in Acmonia (and usually) was observed when roses were newly in bloom, thus the time varied and would not coordinate with other festivals.

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[1] On burial practices, Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics 98-101 and the inscriptions published in Appendix I, 115ff.; Laum, Stiftungen II no. 180-91 and IGRR IV 828-42. IGRR IV 842 is a list excerpted from over fifty inscriptions, showing the various fines used to protect local graves.

[2] On Stobi, Hengel, "Synagogeninschrift von Stobi," 157-59.

Judging from CII 775-80 (all funerary texts), the Jews of Hierapolis simply took over local burial and memorial customs and grave formulae; their tombs are apparently no different externally from those of neighboring pagans (and Christians). CII 777 does provide that the customary stephanotikon take place on Jewish holidays, but the practice itself is Phrygian, even Hierapolitan, but not Jewish.[1] It is at least confusing however to interpret this as Gottheil does -- "the decorating of graves on Jewish holy days shows how far the Jews of Phrygia had *departed from* Talmudic usage"[2] -- since most were descended from generations of Phrygian Jews who had developed their own "Anatolian Jewish" way of life (and death) far from the concern and the control of rabbinic schools.

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[1] See H. Windisch, "zume" TW II 902f. and J. Rylaarsdam, "Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread," IDB III 663-68. CII 777 = Laum, Stiftungen II no. 191, p. 139.

ii

Two of these inscriptions give additional names or *signa* for persons being designated: CII 775 Glukonianos ὁ καί Apros and CII 776 M(arkos) Aur(elios) Alexandros Theophilos ἐπικλήν (As)aph. The two formulae appear to mean the same thing (Latin equivalents: *qui et* or *signo*); the practice is known in Sardis (*Samouel ho kai Ioulianos*, Kroll no. 4), in Rome and many other Jewish communities.[3] Ramsay, usually with the apostle Paul in mind, has often commented on the *signum* as a sign that the person bearing it is in effect bridging two cultures, e.g. living sometimes in a context in which his foreign name is predominant, but at other times in a situation where a more Greek (or Roman) name is needed.[1] In CII 776 the *signum* is semitic, if the reconstruction be correct: (As)aph; but the Jew with the Greek name in CII 775 (Glykonianos) takes a Roman *signum*, Apros = Aper, not a semitic one.[2]

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[1] On burial customs in the ancient world, see L. Koep et al., "Bestattung," RAC II 194-207 (bibliography, 218f.); in rabbinic literature, J. Perles, "On the Internment of the Dead in Post-Biblical Judaism," in Hebrew Characteristics: Miscellaneous Papers from the German (1875) 71-96; Strack-Billerbeck IV.1.578ff. On the Diaspora, Juster, Juifs I 477-85.

[2] R. Gottheil, "Hierapolis," JE VI (1894) 387, emphasis mine.

[3] Leon, Jews of Ancient Rome 117f. with the literature on the *signum* there cited.

iii

In CII 775 any fines for tomb-violation are to be paid to the one who called attention to the violation and also τῇ κατοικίᾳ τῶν ἐν Ἱεραπόλει κατοικούντων Ἰουδαίων . This elaborate phrase has attracted some attention because often the word *katoikia* means "colony" and *katoikountes* "colonists," a group of people from a foreign country living where they do not hold citizenship but are allowed certain legal privileges;[3] If the Jews could be thus designated, it would indicate their exclusiveness and perhaps show their resistance to the Anatolian culture surrounding them.[1]

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[1] Ramsay, St Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen^{16} (1927) 81ff.; on the adoption of "private" baptismal names by converts, "Early Christian Monuments in Phrygia," Expositor 28 (1888) 416ff.

[2] Ramsay argued that the *signum* Asbolos in an inscription from Hierapolis (Cities and Bishoprics no. 28 = no. 412) was semitic, but Robert, Noms indigènes 211-13 has shown that it is attested widely in scattered areas of the ancient world, and occurs as early as Hipponax (sixth century BC), and so cannot prove the text Jewish. On the difficulty of deciding whether an "Old Testament" name in a text of the Imperial period is Jewish or Christian, see CPJ I. pp. xvii-xix.

[3] This is Schuerer's understanding of CII 775, Geschichte III 73. Generally, see Broughton, "Economic Survey" 627ff. and Oertel, "*katoikoi*," RE 11 (1922) 1-13 (this section on Asia makes extensive use of the inscriptions found and published by Keil-Premerstein).

In Roman Asia katoikia very commonly means not "colony (of aliens)" but "village" or "suburb (of a larger city)" as in the following examples from IGRR IV: No. 624, an altar is erected "in the katoikia..." (AD 130-31). No. 1314 (Christian), fines may be paid to the katoikia (first half of the third century). No. 635, a dedication by "the katoikia of the Dioskometoi of the...polis of the Sebastenoi"; the village is Dioskome, the city Sebaste (AD 245-46). Dedications may be made by the katoikia (no. 1332) or to the katoikia (no. 641); in the first inscription the ruler is Claudius, in the second, Severus Alexander. Katoikia may also mean "the community," the city as a social entity as over against the polis, the city as a legal and political entity; thus in an inscription from Sardis (IGRR IV 1755 = Sardis 7.1 no. 52, AD 127) the boule and the demos honor a priestess of Artemis for having conducted herself reverently toward the goddess and "public-spiritedly" toward the katoikia, and for having conducted at her own cost the sacrifices carried out each month by the polis. In general, katoikia followed by a genitive plural is geographical, e.g. no. 624 quoted just above; standing alone, it may mean the same thing (villagers' name implied) or it may mean "the community," the polis from its non-legal side, as in the Sardis inscription. _Katoikountes_ more frequently means "colonists" and no more;[1] thus the occurrence of noun and participle together in CII 775 would be quite unusual in legal vocabulary.

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[1] This is the general approach of Ramsay, e.g. Letters 142ff. on "the Jews in the Asian cities."

As OGIS 527 indicates,[2] Hierapolis had small villages around it over which it had control, but there is no evidence (excluding CII 775 for the moment) that one of these was a _katoikia_ inhabited by Jews, a kind of Phrygian ghetto. Ramsay has suggested that the phrasing of CII 775 harks back to the time when Hellenistic kings settled Jews in Asia Minor as a pacification measure, as described by Josephus, AJ XII 147-52: Antiochus III (ruled 223-187 BC) sends 2000 Jewish families from Mesopotamia and Babylonia to Lydia and Phrygia. Ramsay is probably correct in saying that this practice was carried out by other kings of the Hellenistic period, but his interpretation requires that the Jews of Hierapolis still call themselves "settlers" (_katoikoi_) 400 years later.[3]

The epigraphic evidence used to argue for independent, Anatolian Jewish _katoikiai_ is rather meager; CII 775 is one example, the other is a text published most recently by Robert and mentioning a κατοικία ᾽Ιουδδηνῶν about 20 miles northeast of Sardis, just south of present-day Borlu. The latter has turned out to be an indigenous name, Ioudda, and has no connection with Jews; the former, CII 775, is probably an elaborate paraphrase of the term "*laos* of the Jews" which appears in CII 776, also from Hierapolis.[1] Hengel points out that such designations in Jewish texts emphasize now the religious, now the "political-ethnic" side of the community, two aspects always visible to those who confronted the Judaism of the Diaspora.[2] This may be the case in CII 775, which reveals that the *katoikia* or "community" possessed archives and could collect fines for grave violations; the Hierapolis community thus had some of the same authority as did the Jews of Ephesus, who in the same period were responsible for graves there (see chapter II C i supra). But that the Jews of Hierapolis formed an isolated village of their own, aloof, and with a host of special privileges is unparalleled in Asia Minor in the Imperial period and highly unlikely. The Jewish tombstones and inscriptions are identical to those of Gentiles,[1] something not to be expected if Jew and Gentile lived separately in the city. The Sardis inscriptions reveal Jews who were both Roman citizens (by the time of the Constitutio antoniniana if not earlier) and also citizens of the city, e.g. those designated bouleutes, member of the boule (see further infra, chapter IV B iii); the same may be said for Hierapolis, in all probability.

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[1] For further examples, see s.v. in the index to IGRR IV, p. 708.

[2] See further, Broughton "Economic Survey," 627ff.

[3] Ramsay, Letters 421, cf. 143. M. Rostovtzeff, Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World I (1941) 492 states that the Josephus text "undoubtedly gives us exactly the normal procedure when the Seleucids founded a colony."

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[1] On Ioudda, see Robert, "Reliefs...d'Anatolie" 129-31 and Nouvelles Inscriptions 12 note 6. Tcherikover, Hellenistic Civilization 288 note 63 and 298 note 5 require correction in light of Robert's findings. The verb *katoikeo* occurs over 700 times in the LXX, usually with "local" or geographical meaning; this latter point is not apparent in the TW article s.v., which stresses (correctly, considering the purposes of TW) the "spiritual or religious meaning" of the word, O. Michel, TW V 155f. If the Jews' *katoikia* in Hierapolis is a genuine political entity, "a politically independent colony of foreigners with special legal privileges" (Schuerer, Geschichte III 73), the term *katoikia* should appear (to stress these rights) in the other Jewish inscriptions from the site, but it does not, note particularly CII 776, where *katoikia* would be expected in place of *laos*.

[2] Hengel, "Synagagogeninschrift von Stobi" 157 note 35.

iv

Further evidence for the integration of the Jews into Hierapolitan society is provided by the names of local trade associations (ergasiai) in CII 777: the chairman of the association of purple-dyers (porphyrobaphoi) and the council of the association of tapestry-makers (kairodapistoi) are made responsible for carrying out the grave-ceremonies on the Feast of Unleavened Bread and the Feast of Weeks (cf. section i supra).[2] As other inscriptions make clear, Gentiles as well as Jews participated in these associations.

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[1] Altertuemer von Hierapolis (cited supra, page 125, note 2) 46. This is not unusual in Asia Minor, J. Keil, "Asia," RAC I 748.

[2] Ramsay's assertion in "The Jews in the Graeco-asiatic Cities" 99 that these trade-guilds were made up entirely of Jews has no evidence to back it up, and reflects his (no longer tenable) assumption of an extreme separatism and exclusiveness among Anatolian Jews, cf. supra, the final paragraphs of chapter III B. Generally on the industries of the Lycus Valley, Cities and Bishoprics 37ff. On the trade-associations of Hierapolis and the rest of the Lycus Valley, see Broughton, "Economic Survey" 819f. CII 777 = Laum, Stiftungen II no. 191.

The prosperity of the Lycus Valley in general is reflected in the statement attributed to the Laodicean Christians in Rev. 3:17: "I am rich, very rich, and I have need of nothing." One well-traveled merchant of Hierapolis (perhaps himself a Jew) surely contributed to this prosperity; on his tombstone (IGRR IV 841) he boasts that he has made no fewer than 72 business trips to Rome from this inland city.[1]

V

In the Lycus Valley however, it was Laodiceia rather than Hierapolis which was the commercial center and known for its wealth (as implied in the quotation from Revelation in the preceding paragraph); thus, when all three cities in the valley were devastated by an earthquake under the rule of Nero (Tacitus, Ann. 14.27), Laodiceia was able quickly to rebuild herself without the aid of Imperial funds.[2] It was probably also the center of organized Judaism in the valley, since Flaccus was able to seize a sizable amount in Jewish gold here in the middle of the first century BC (cf. chapter III C i supra). Josephus (AJ 14.241-43) preserves a letter of the archons of Laodiceia from the same period; in it the Jews of the city are guaranteed the opportunity to observe the Sabbath and their other religious obligations. The archons make a point of their willingness in this matter (242f.), an indication perhaps that the Jewish community was already of influence in the city. Laodiceia was a Seleucid foundation (probably under Antiochus II), so that the Jewish community may well have begun with families imported from Syria in the third century BC; the city gate to the southeast was still called the "Syrian Gate" in the Imperial period.[1]

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[1] On the basis of the name Theudas in the text, both Kittel ("Kleinas. Judentum" 12 note 21) and Schultze (Staedte II.1.419f.) consider this family to be part of the Jewish community.

[2] Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics 38. On the city generally, the basic work is still Cities and Bishoprics, chapter 2, 32ff., but see also MAMA VI pp. x-xi and 1-14 and Schultze, Staedte II.1 435-45. On the French-Canadian excavations begun in 1961, cf. (most recently) M. J. Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor," AJA 69 (1965) 145.

vi

In the mid-fourth century a council of Anatolian church leaders was held in Laodiceia; its exact date and historical background are wholly lost, only the canons remaining.[2] "The canons of the Council of Laodiceia are among the most particularly anti-Jewish in the entire conciliar literature"; "taken together (they) certainly leave a strong impression that even in the fourth century there were not only Judaic practices in the Church in Asia, but that there was actual religious fellowship with the Jewish inhabitants."[1] The germane canons are as follows:[2]

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[1] On the Seleucids and Laodiceia, Cities and Bishoprics 32f. (the Syrian Gate, 35) and Magie, Roman Rule 127 with notes. CII 296 is the epitaph (found in Rome) of a Jewish woman named Ammias "from Laodiceia"; Kittel, "Kleinas. Judentum" 18 note 138 calls her Phrygian, but Leon, Jews of Ancient Rome 239 says the reference is probably to the Syrian Laodiceia instead (cf. Juster, Juifs I 195), pointing to the fact that of the six other Roman Jewish inscriptions giving national origins, five are from Palestine or Syria.

[2] On the "Council of Laodiceia," see ODCC s.v. 785; Parkes, Conflict 174-77; and J. Palanque et al., The Church in the Christian Roman Empire, trans. E. Messenger (1953) 528-32. Text and basic discussion of the canons are in Hefele-Leclercq I 995-1028 (introduction, with such data of the background of the council as are known, 989ff.)

Canon 11 forbids female presbyters and female presiding officials (αἱ λεγόμεναι πρεσβύτιδαι, ἤτοι προκαθημέναι), while canon 44 rules that women may not approach the altar. Hefele understood canon 11 as a prohibition against the *ordaining* of such women, since women functionaries (e.g. deaconesses) are a part of the Greek church long after this council; but see further the section on women in Anatolian Judaism, chapter II B v supra.

Canon 16 prescribes that on the Sabbath (Saturday) the Gospels and other NT writings alone are to be read. Simon understands this to mean that some Christians followed synagogue practice in that they read only the OT at Saturday services, perhaps together with local Jews.[3]

Canon 29: Christians are not to "Judaize" and rest on the Sabbath (Saturday); they are to rest instead on Sunday and "if they are found to be Judaizers, let them be anathema..." Taken with canon 16, this canon shows that the former is a concession to the "Judaizing" of some Christians,[1] who are allowed their Saturday services if only the NT be read (and Jews thus effectively excluded).

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[1] First quotation, Simon, Verus Israel 382. Second, Parkes, Conflict, 175f.

[2] Quotations and references to "Hefele" are from Hefele-Leclercq I 1003ff.

[3] Simon, Verus Israel 383.

Judaizing tendencies need not require sympathy for and dealings with Jews, witness the Quartodeciman Melito of Sardis (infra, chapter IV B ii); the following canons imply, however, frequent contact between Jews and Christians (see canons 37f. in particular):

Canon 35 anathematizes Christians who worship angels or establish an angel-cultus, cf. section viii below on Anatolian angels.

Canon 36 forbids "sorcerers, magicians, mathematicians and astrologers" among the clergy and bans the making of τὰ λεγόμενα φυλακτήρια. The last word[2] probably refers in this context to Jewish magical amulets (cf. chapter II C ii supra on Jewish magic).

Canon 37 forbids keeping festivals with Jews or heretics, and receiving from them such gifts as are associated with these festivals.

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[1] So Simon, Verus Israel 383, contesting Hefele-Leclercq, who assert (1009) that in the fourth century such Judaizing was no longer an issue in the Anatolian church.

[2] Simon, Verus Israel 422, recalls the Jewish phylacteries mentioned in the NT (e.g. Mt 23:5). A. A. Barb claims that "some kind of specifically Christian magic" is involved here, but says nothing about its sources, "The Survival of Magic Arts," in The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century, ed. A. Momigliano (Oxford-Warburg Studies, 1963) 107.

Canon 38 is more specific in the same matter: Christians are not to receive unleavened bread (azuma) from Jews; in contrast, the ban on contact with pagans (canon 39) is very generally phrased.

Jews are mentioned of course in the canons of other councils in the third and fourth centuries, and are treated in the Apostolic Canons with nearly as much detail as above; the Apostolic Canons however are a product of Syria, where daily contact with Jews would be unavoidable.[1] The canons of Laodiceia seem to indicate that such contact was unavoidable for Anatolian Christians as well. Bans on magic and on angel-worship do not appear in the Syrian canons however, indicating that contact with Jews in Asia was perhaps more extensive or of a different kind.

vii

Of the three Lycus Valley cities, Colossae has produced the least evidence for the Imperial period, so that Ramsay and many following him concluded that the city had been completely eclipsed by Laodiceia; the letter to the Colossian church is the chief piece of information available.[2]

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[1] See the survey in Parkes, Conflict 174-77; the only references to Jews in the index of Hefele-Leclercq are to the Council of Laodiceia and to the pre-Constantinian Spanish Council of Elvira (brief references in canons 49f. and 78). On the Apostolic Canons, see ODCC s.v. 73; the relevant canons are 7, 64, 70f.

[2] Broughton, "Economic Survey" 725. On the city, Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics 208-16; Magie, Roman Rule 985f. disputes Ramsay's claim but concedes (127) that Laodiceia was the more important economic center. On the inscriptions: MAMA VI pp. 15-18; the editors' suggestion that no. 47 might be Jewish because of the appearance of the term hetairoi is rightly rejected by Robert, "Bull. épigr." 1939 no. 392.

Because the heresy attacked by the Colossian letter is clearly of Jewish origin, it should furnish information about the Jews of Colossae; however, the references to the heresy are brief and cryptic, "a kind of short-hand between writer and readers,"[1] making use of the vocabulary of the writer's opponents. The result has been that no one explanation of the nature and origin of the heresy has won general acceptance. Dibelius' classic study made use of Anatolian epigraphical evidence to clarify greatly the religious vocabulary of the letter, but he rejected any idea of Jewish influence on the Colossian church,[2] a conclusion which has been frequently and correctly disputed. More recently the Qumran texts have presented "what seem to be specific points of contact with the Colossian heresy," to the extent that F. M. Cross considers Col 2:16-23 "the best example" of an anti-Essene polemic in the NT because of the references to "matters of calendar, priestly laws of purity, worship of angels, etc."[3]

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[1] F. Francis, "Humility and Angelic Worship in Col 2:18," ST 16 (1962) 112; this study is valuable as a research-report, summarizing the position of a number of writers on the Colossian heresy, but it omits the most satisfactory essay, G. Bornkamm, "Haeresie des Kolosserbriefes." The study with which "virtually all subsequent interpreters have been in dialogue" (Francis, 112) is M. Dibelius, "Isisweihe" SBHeidelberg 1917.

[2] Dibelius, "Isisweihe" 63 note 80.

[3] First quotation from W. D. Davies, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls" 166; cf. 166-69. The Cross quotation is from The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies (1961^2) 201f. Some of the suggestions of Davies and Cross in this regard were anticipated by W. Lightfoot in his 1879 commentary, Saint Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon (third edition) 81ff., cf. his "Dissertations" on the Essenes, 347ff.

It is not within the limits of this study of Anatolian Judaism to carry out another full investigation of the Colossian heresy, but some characteristics of that heresy have points in common with Anatolian Judaism or with what Nilsson calls "the Lydian-Phrygian mentality" in which the Jews of the region participate; this is not surprising, since the Lycus Valley churches were founded not by Paul but by a Colossian, Epaphras (Col 1:7; 4:12f.), whose piety remained "Anatolian" or "Phrygian" in some sense even as he interpreted and preached the Pauline gospel.[1] Colossian references to angels will be explored in the following section (viii); references to other Anatolian or Anatolian Jewish practices may appear in the following texts:

"Let no one pass judgment on you in questions of food and drink or with regard to a festival or a new moon or a sabbath (Col 2:16)...Why do you submit to regulations, 'Do not handle, Do not taste, Do not touch'...? (2:20f.)" "Proper food" was of concern to the Anatolian Jews: it is guaranteed to the Sardis Jews by the decree preserved in Josephus, AJ 14.261, and was probably a point of contention in Miletus as well (AJ 14.245, discussed supra, chapter II A i); the Jews of Ephesus were exempted from military service in part because they could not be supplied their traditional foods (AJ 14.226). In the decrees preserved in Josephus, government responsibility in regard to guaranteeing proper food for the Jews is mentioned only in these instances, all from Asia Minor in the first century BC.[1]

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[1] So Bauer suggests, Rechtglaeubigkeit 237. In the following paragraphs only specifically Anatolian parallels will be brought in; the relation of the Colossian heresy to Jewish practice generally and to the rabbinic literature has been covered in the commentaries ad loc.

The reference in Col. 2:23 to "severe treatment of the body" suggests that the opponents went beyond observance of the usual food regulations to a more extreme asceticism, something attested in second-century Montanism (chapter III E infra) and fostered by elements within non-Christian Anatolian piety.[2]

Religious festivals are important for the Colossian heretics (Col. 2:16 quoted above) and for the Jews of Asia: the significance of Sabbath-observance in Thyateira is reflected in the name of the synagogue there, the Sambatheion (discussed in detail infra, chapter IV A), and the grave-ceremonies conducted in Hierapolis in connection with the Festival of Unleavened Bread and the Festival of Weeks (supra, chapter III D i) proves that other holydays were observed there (with a large dose of Gentile influence) in the middle of the Imperial period. In the mid-fourth century Jewish holydays were still being observed by some Phrygian Christians, as canons 16, 29, 37 and 38 of the Council of Laodiceia attest (supra, chapter III D vi).

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[1] See Juster, Juifs I 361, who deals also with related problems, e.g. proper food doles.

[2] So Nilsson, GGR II 656, cf. 578-81; generally, H. Strathmann, "Askese," RAC I 749-63 (Colossians, 760; Montanism, 761).

viii

On the basis of his study of the Anatolian confession-inscriptions, Steinleitner describes "the relation of man to the gods in Lydian-Phrygian popular religion" as one in which the deity is seen as "the great, powerful, strong lord" and the worshipper as "the slave or underling of his master and king"; the deities in question are peculiarly Anatolian, as Nilsson insists,[1] but the attitude penetrated parts of Anatolian Judaism by the end of the first century BC, witness the Sabathikos inscription found near Sardis (discussed infra, chapter IV A v). Nilsson connects these inscriptions with an Anatolian _Drang zum Monotheismus_ which in the Imperial period also manifests itself in the _hypsistos_ inscriptions (chapter III B v), in the appearance of mediating deities called _aggeloi_ or _aggelikoi_, and in the vague and anonymous deity _to theion_.[2]

The non-Christian _aggeloi_ and _aggelikoi_ inscriptions are most common in the vicinity of Stratoniceia, Caria, ca. 70 miles southwest of Colossae,[1] but Robert has recently published one from Saittae, 40 miles northeast of Sardis; dated second-third century, it is a dedication in thanksgiving Ἀνγέλῳ Ὁσίῳ Δικαίῳ and to another deity whose name has been lost.[2] Texts mentioning *to theion* are being identified with increasing frequency in Lydia and Phrygia, e.g. the mid-third century dedication to *theion* and *hypsistos* at Philadelphia (chapter III B v supra); they indicate to Robert a "new, powerful and complex religious movement in Phrygia and the neighboring regions" which develops in full awareness of the other religions of the area, "both pagan and Christian, orthodox and Montanist," and reflects already identified tendencies of Lydian-Phrygian piety, i.e. a more exalted concept of deity and an emphasis on a moral code.[3]

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[1] Steinleitner, Beichte 77f.; Nilsson GGR II 578. On the desire for "salvation" (_soteria_) manifest in some of these texts, see Ramsay, The Bearing 173ff.

[2] These are discussed by Nilsson in his section on "monotheism," GGR II 569-78, especially 572, 574, 577. Nilsson (577 note 1) would make this deity masculine (_ho theios_) but Keil-Premerstein, Dritte Reise 30 (discussed in chapter IV A, page 188, note 1, infra) proves it neuter.

By the later Imperial period if not earlier, angel-worship is a well-attested part of some forms of Anatolian Christianity;

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[1] These have been known for some time and frequently discussed, e.g. Nilsson, GGR II 577; F. Cumont, "Les anges du paganisme," RHR 72 (1915) 159-82, especially 161-63; and the research-report of F. Sokolowski, "Sur le culte d'Angelos dans le paganisme grec et romain," HTHR 53 (1960) 225-29. For Robert's treatment, see following note.

[2] Published by Robert, "Reliefs...d'Anatolie," 120, cf. 120-23 generally an *aggelos* inscriptions and Nilsson, "The High God and the Mediator," *HTR* 56 (1963) 101-20, especially 116. Saittae has also yielded Sabazios inscriptions, discussed infra, chapter IV A iii.

[3] Robert, "Reliefs...d'Anatolie," 118f., cf. 112-20 for his treatment of *to theion*. The earlier texts are discussed by Hoefer, "Theios," *RL V* (1918) 566-68.

this is clear from the ban on this practice by the fourth-century Council of Laodiceia (canon 35, supra, section vi), from such Phrygian inscriptions as MAMA I 434 and IV 307, and from the veneration of the archangel Michael which is wide-spread by the fourth century and has a major early center at the Church of St Michael at Chonae, five miles south of Colossae.[1]

Against this background, Paul's attacks on "the worship of angels" (Col. 2:18) and on "the *stoicheia* of the *kosmos*" (2:8, cf. 20) are quite probably directed against typical Lydian-Phrygian piety, in which Anatolian Judaism has already participated, as attested, e.g. in the Sabathikos inscription just mentioned. Jewish interest in angels is widely attested outside Asia Minor for the Hellenistic and Imperial periods,[2] e.g. in the Delos curse-inscription CII 725 (first century BC) with its demand for revenge addressed to ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὕψιστος and to "the angels of God." As Simon has shown, angels are a staple of Jewish magic in the Imperial period; he considers it probable that in certain syncretistic Jewish groups Judaism's basic monotheism was placed in serious danger by this speculation regarding angels, and that, further, such speculation fostered actual angel-cultus among these Jews.[1] The elements which enter into this syncretism in Lydia and Phrygia are clear enough, as shown above; it is thus logical to assume that Lydian-Phrygian Judaism of a fairly ordinary type is behind the Colossian heresy. Direct Jewish influence on the Anatolian aggelos inscriptions cannot be proved;[2] it seems rather that earlier Near Eastern angelology had influenced both Hellenistic Judaism and Anatolian piety in this regard, and that the two streams of angel-speculation converge somewhere in the immediate background of the heresy. Its pagan and Jewish elements are obvious in any case, and the mixture of those elements is not surprising in an Anatolian Jewish setting.

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[1] On Michael, see J. Michl, "Engel," RAC V 182, 200, 243-51 ("Michaelskult," 251). On the St. Michael church, see Ramsay, Church in the Roman Empire 465-80 (further references to sites in Cities and Bishoprics 541, 742).

[2] Robert, Hellenica XI-XII (1960) 433 with notes; on the literary evidence, see the standard treatment of Bousset-Gressmann, 320-31.

In view of this, it is premature at the very least to make direct connections between the Colossian heresy and the Dead Sea Scrolls. For example, it is tempting to relate the reference to "self-abasement and the worship of angels" (ταπεινοφροσύνη, θρησκεία τῶν ἀγγέλων) in 2:18 to Qumran texts which imply that the angels of God are present within the community, and that the members of the sect enjoy "an immediate fellowship with the heavenly world" and are always to conduct themselves mindful of the divine presence.[1] However, Col 2:18 continues immediately with the phrase ἃ ἑόρακεν ἐμβατεύων, which Dibelius has shown to have close connections with Anatolian religious vocabulary; he prints a number of inscriptions in which the verb embateuo is a technical term ("to approach an oracle" for consultation) and further suggests that in Colossae it also meant a cult action: "to enter the sanctuary (or inner sanctum) of the god."[2] "The five slogans used by the Colossian heresy," ἐθελοθρησκεία, ταπεινοφροσύνη, ἀφειδία σώματος, τιμή τις πρὸς πλησμοσυνὴν τῆς σαρκός (2:23) also have an Anatolian origin, in all probability,[3] and reflect the Anatolian attitude toward deity which has been sketched in these two sections (vii and viii), an attitude which local Jews presumably shared.

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[1] Simon, Verus Israel 401-05. The evidence (chiefly rabbinic) used by S. Cohen, "The Unity of God -- a Study in Hellenistic and Rabbinic Theology," HUCA 26 (1955) 425-79, especially 467ff. is not germane to the Anatolian situation.

[2] Both Robert, Hellenica XI-XII (1960) 433 note 2, and Nilsson, GGR II 577, admit the possibility of Jewish influence on the pagan aggelos texts.

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[1] Davies cautiously suggests this interpretation of Col. 2:18 in "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls" 167; in 166-69 he attempts a close connection between Col. 2:11-23 and the Scrolls. On angels at Qumran, see the references in Ringgren, Faith of Qumran 84-87 (quotation from 85).

[2] "Isisweihe" 55-65.

[3] Quotation from Bornkamm, "Haeresie des Kolosserbriefes" 151; Dibelius' essay, "Isisweihe," makes this point quite probable. A. Dihle, "Demut," RAC III 749-51, argues that tapeinophrosyne here is an ethical term, "meekness" toward the neighbor; this is surely what the term will become in Christian theology, but not its original meaning in the vocabulary of the Colossian opponents (on the word, see also W. Grundmann s.v. in TW VIII 22-24).

Koester has stated that the Judaism behind the Colossian opponents was not to be understood on the basis of rabbinic sources;[1] it is possible to go farther and caution against assuming a priori that Anatolian Judaism and any kind of Palestinian Judaism will have strong ties of theology or praxis. As was pointed out in chapter I, many Anatolian Jews (particularly in Lydia and here in Phrygia) belonged to families whose ancestors had come from Mesopotamia and Babylonia, not from Palestine: close links with Palestine are not to be assumed without proof. Evidence from Qumran, from Hasmonean Palestine or from rabbinic sources must then be used with great caution, and full credit given to the creativity of Anatolian Judaism and the influence upon it by the religious expressions and presuppositions of its environment.[2]

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[1] "Gnomai Diaphoroi," 307.

[2] One example of this: as mentioned in chapter II (page 53, note 3), Rabbi Meir in the second century AD visited a community in "Asia" which did not possess a copy of the book of Esther for the festival of Purim. No copy of Esther has yet been found at Qumran either, though all other books of the Hebrew OT and many other later Jewish writings are represented in whole or in part among the finds: H. L. Ginsburg has suggested that the people of Qumran "did not recognize either the Book of Esther (a product of the Hasmonean Age) or the festival of Purim, whose observance that book enjoins" since the politically-minded Hasmoneans were "detested" at Qumran ("The Dead See Manuscript Finds: New Light on Eretz Yisrael in the Greco-Roman Period," in Israel: Its Role in Civilization, ed. Moshe Davis [1956] 52). Purim is a festival of noise and merrymaking celebrating the overthrow of hated Gentile enemies. The book of Esther "reflects a period of great bitterness against Gentiles, directed more toward concern with political than with religious survival. The reign of John Hyrcanus -- i.e. ca. 125 BC -- at the height of the political ambitions of the Hasmoneans, makes a probable setting for the book," (D. Harvey, "Esther, Book of," IDB II 151). If the

If the Colossian heresy has its roots in Anatolian Judaism, it was also long ago suggested that "the Phrygian heresy," Montanism, which arose in the second half of the second century, derives as well from Jewish or Jewish-Christian sources.[1] The Montanist "holy land" and the most probable site of Pepuza (the future "New Jerusalem" of the earlier Montanist sources) lie halfway between Acmonia and the Lycus Valley, and just to the west (ca. 25 miles) of Eumeneia and Apameia.[2] The Jewish communities in this area have already been discussed, but while Anatolian Judaism is the source of the Colossian heresy, it is rather a native Anatolian piety which will be seen to supply the non-Christian

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(continued from preceding page) story of Rabbi Meir indicates that Purim was not celebrated by (some) Anatolian Jews, the reason is obvious enough: Purim is a nationalistic festival in this period, stressing the thwarting of evil Gentiles and their murderous designs on the Jews; it is hard to imagine, e.g. Sardis Jews celebrating Purim as a festival of Palestinian nationalism. If Anatolian Jews do not do so, it would be because the festival is inappropriate and impolitic in their communities.

[1] Hilgenfeld states in Ketzergeschichte (580) that he had suggested Jewish Christian origins for Montanism in an earlier writing, dated 1850. P. de Labriolle, La Crise Montaniste (1913) 94 shows that speculation about a connection between Montanism and Judaism antedates Renan. Generally on Montanism: de Labriolle; Hilgenfeld, Ketzergeschichte 560-601; Schepelern, Montanismus; Aland, "Bemerkungen"; H. Opitz, "Montanus," RE 16 (1935) 206-10; Frend, Martyrdom 287-94 with notes. On the inscriptions: Calder, "Philadelphia," and the convenient collection of H. Leclercq, "Montaniste (Epigraphie)," DACL XI.2 (1934) 2529-44. On Montanism and Judaism: Ford, "Montanism."

[2] On "the holy land of the Montanists," Schultze, Staedte II.1 474-77; geographical and epigraphical details in Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics 573-77. The vicinity of Philadelphia, discussed by Calder ("Philadelphia"), is slightly farther westward.

elements of early Montanism; what may appear to be Jewish derives from Anatolian Christianity.

J. M. Ford has recently summarized the supposedly Jewish elements; her treatment is the basis of the following lists:[1] 1) The use of a solar calendar, specifically with regard to the celebration of Easter on 14 Nisan as a kind of Christian Passover, is a characteristic of Anatolian Christianity in general and in a man like Melito of Sardis may be combined with a violent rejection of the Jews (see further, chapter IV B ii infra); this may be called "Johannine" influence rather than Jewish, as Miss Ford's own evidence makes clear.[2] 2) The prominence of women in the Montanist movement, e.g. the prophetesses Priscilla and Maximilla, is also Anatolian (chapter II B v supra). 3) The ascetic practices of the Montanists (and of the Colossian heretics) are also a part of Anatolian religiosity in the Imperial period (section vii supra). 4) What is not of pagan origin in the Montanist emphasis on ecstatic prophesy also goes back to Anatolian Christianity; as Miss Ford herself says, "it breathes the same atmosphere as the Apocalypse of St John."[3]

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[1] For details of her evidence, see Ford, "Montanism" 146-53; the remainder of her article deals with Tertullian and African Montanism, which is of a different kind, cf. Aland, "Bemerkungen" 114ff.

[2] "Montanism" 147.

[3] "Montanism," 147. The title of her article implies that Jewish Christianity rather than non-Christian Judaism is the source of Montanism, but her evidence for the above points is mainly from

Some additions could be made to Miss Ford's list: 5) the use of military titles, e.g. stratiotes, by the Anatolian Montanists[1] in a religious sense recalls the military details of the Qumran War Scroll. 6) The appearance of the Greek letter pi on either side of a cross on a Montanist inscription from Dorylaeum in northern Phrygia was once interpreted as deriving from a Hebrew divine name, making it an epigraphical example of the common representation of the OT יהוה in Greek manuscripts.[2] 7) S. Lieberman's attempt to show connections between rabbinic vocabulary and two technical terms on perhaps Montanist epitaphs: ἀναλήφθη (he was taken up, i.e. he died) and κοινωνός (as a title for church officials): however, the first word passes from Greek to Aramaic transliteration, not the other way around, and the single Anatolian example of koinonos is rather too late

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[7] (continued from preceding page) "Judaism of the sectarian type... (a) 'Qumran'; (b) the Therapeutae; (c) the Karaites" (146). The Church in Asia Minor was as "Jewish" as any other, just because of the Palestinian matrix of Christianity, but "Jewish Christianity" in the technical sense, as that label is used, e.g. by W. Kuemmel, "Judenchristentum I. Im Altertum," RGG III 967f. is a rare thing in Asia Minor. The description of Montanism in Frend, Martyrdom ("a blend of Judaism with native prophetic tradition and eschatological hopes," 294) displays a similar misconception, cf. the general criticism of his book, supra chapter II, page 38 , note 1.

[1] See Calder, "Philadelphia," 34-36, no. 12.

[2] The inscription and a more plausible solution are given by Leclercq, "Montaniste (Epigraphie)," DACL XI.2 (1934) 2539-41, no. 16; on pipi, see the references in Goodenough, Symbols II 220 and P. Vielhauer, "Zur Frage des christologischen Hoheitstitel," TLZ 90 (1965) 571.

(AD 514/15) to be used as an indicator of Jewish origin for the movement.[1]

Further, the specifically Phrygian element in Montanism is unmistakable; the early name of the movement, "the Phrygian heresy" (cf. Eusebius, HE 5.16.1), indicates its regional and even nationalistic flavor. Montanus is never condemned for being a Jew or a "Judaizer"; rather, he is called a recent convert (Eusebius, HE 5.16.7) and a (eunuch) pagan priest, suggesting recent ties with the "savage and ecstatic religiosity" of Phrygia.[2] The fact that the New Jerusalem is expected in Phrygia and not in Palestine is probably not anti-Semitism, as Leipoldt once suggested tentatively,[3] but "pro-Phrygianism," an indication of the local nature of the movement in its earlier stages. As Aland has shown, a number of "Montanist" tenets are actually characteristic of Anatolian Christianity as a whole ("orthodox" as well as "heretical"): for example, ecstatic prophecy, Chiliasm and an emphasis on the Spirit (the parakletos).[1] Further, there is nothing in the genuine sayings of Montanus and his prophetesses to indicate a specifically Jewish background.[2]

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[1] S. Lieberman, "The Martyrs of Caesarea," Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves VII (1939-44) 437-42; these two words occur in the same text, H. Leclercq, "Montaniste (Epigraphie)," DACL XI.2 (1934) 2542-44, no. 20, cf. Robert, "Bull. épigr." 1954, no. 233. On a still later (eighth century) confusion of Jews and Montanists, A. Scharf, "The Jews, the Montanists and Emperor Leo III," ByzZeit 59 (1966) 37-46.

[2] A. Ehrhardt, "Christianity before the Apostles' Creed," 184, cf. 185 note 1 (gives the references for these descriptions of Montanus and argues for their critical acceptance) and 183 note 3 (supports, against Aland, Schepelern's arguments for the links between Montanism and Phrygian cults).

[3] J. Leipoldt, "Antisemitismus," RAC I 475, phrased as a cautious question.

A final argument for the indigenous nature of Montanism (and a number of later Anatolian heresies) is that based on the revival and expansion of native languages, e.g. Phrygian, in Asia Minor from the later third century on, as documented by K. Holl with literary evidence and by W. Calder with inscriptions; they show that the orthodox, speaking Greek and seeking to work out a way for the Church to continue to live in the world, won out in "the hellenized and educated cities of Central Phrygia" while the defiant and separatist "Phrygian heresy" withdrew until it "found a more permanent footing in the heart of the old Phrygian kingdom, where Phrygian custom and mentality were as yet little affected by Greek civilisation."[3] This could not have occurred, unless Montanism's base had been Phrygian to begin with.

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[1] See Aland's summary, "Bemerkungen," 139-43.

[2] Texts in Aland, "Bemerkungen," 143-46.

[3] Calder, "Philadelphia," 20, cf. the map of the "Phrygian-speaking zone of Asia and Galatia in 250 AD," MAMA VII, p. xliv. Holl suggests that the "Sprachpolitik" of the Greek-speaking orthodox caused them to lose out in the backlands of Asia Minor, so that paganism and the sects, speaking native languages, were able to continue to exist there, "Das Fortleben der Volkssprachen in Klienasien in nachchristlicher Zeit," Gesammelte Aufsaetze zur Kirchengeschichte II (1928) 247, cf. 238-48; the article was originally published in Hermes 43 (1908) 240-54. Frend, "The

The standard resources for this area of Church history, the collections of patristic texts and the Bible with apocrypha and pseudepigrapha, do not furnish enough information about the sources of Montanism until the evidence from epigraphy and history of religions is added; then its twin roots are quite evident: pagan Anatolian piety and Anatolian Christianity,[1] the latter being the source or channel of apparently Jewish traits.

(continued from preceding page) Winning of the Countryside," JEH 18 (1967) 1-14, has recently made the same point: Phrygia offers "one important exception" to the general rule that the Christianity of the latter Imperial period was an urban religion; when Montanism "had been rejected decisively by nearly all the urban Christian communities in Phrygia and Asia, it took root in the Phrygian countryside, and was to retain its character there as a regional tradition of Christianity for the next seven centuries" (2). His stress on the "Jewish" element in Montanism is much less strong in this article than it was in his 1965 book, cf. the comments on page , note 3 supra. A similar conservatism is reflected in the ecclesiastical architecture of this area, which is quite provincial, "a backwater offshoot of the greater architecture of adjoining Syria, Cilicia and Pamphylia," R. Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture (Pelican History of Art, no. 24, 1965) 124.

[1] So J. Keil, "Asia," RAC I 748 and A. Ehrhardt, "Christianity before the Apostles' Creed" 183-87.

CHAPTER IV

LYDIA

The city of Thyateira, Lydia, is located approximately thirty miles north-northwest of Sardis. Founded before the beginning of Persian rule, it later bacame a Seleucid garrison city (after the decisive battle of Seleucus I at nearby Corupedium, 281 BC), securing the vital Pergamum-Sardis highway.[1] After the Roman victory at Magnesia ad Sipylum (190 BC), it came under Pergamene control, remaining within the Pergamum *conventus* in the Imperial period until AD 215 when Caracalla created a new *conventus* in north Lydia with Thyateira at its head.[2] In the reorganization by Diocletian at the end of the third century, Thyateira was included within the province Lydia; in the early Byzantine period it was part of the Thrakesian theme, under Ephesus.[3]

Information about the economic situation of Thyateira is unusually full, thanks to the inscriptions;[4] its citizens preserved

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[1] In the Roman period as well, Thyateira was "the most important junction of the roads between Lydia and Mysia," T. Broughton, "Economic Survey" 722, cf. 863.

[2] Cf. A. Jones, Cities 83.

[3] Further on the history of Thyateira: J. Keil, "Thyateira," RE (2. Reihe) 6 (1937) 657-59 and Jones, Cities 44f., 54f., 82-85 with note 93, for surveys of the city's political history. See also the commentaries to Rev 2:18-29. For a more popular treatment, W. Ramsay, Letters, chapter 23f. The standard monograph is still M. Clerc, De Rebus Thyatirenorum (1893), to which should be added the epigraphical evidence listed in the following note.

[4] Assembled by W. Buckler in "Monuments de Thyatire," RevPhil 37 (1913) 289-331, and by Keil-Premerstein, Zweite Reise, 19-118;

"the native Lydian form of organization," i.e. not by tribes (phylai) but by guilds.[1] The Imperial period was one of fame and prosperity for the city, so that in the mid-second century the geographer Ptolemy could call it ἡ μητρόπολις Λυδίας Geog. 5.2.16.[2]

i

For the existence of a Jewish community[3] at Thyateira, the following have been cited:

1. Lydia, a "(God-)fearer" and a "seller of purple cloth" from Thyateira, was baptized, with her household, by Paul in Philippi, Macedonia, according to Acts 16:14f. In the Acts account, Paul meets Lydia on the Sabbath "beside the river where we thought there might be a place-of-prayer (proseuche);" while proseuche is frequently used to designate a synagogue,[4] and while the ancient

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(continued from preceding page) summarized in Jones, Cities 83f. and note 93, and in Broughton "Economic Survey" 763f. See also Magie, Roman Rule 47-49 with notes.

[1] Jones, Cities 83, cf. Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics 106 note 2, against the view of Clerc that such guilds are a Roman institution. For a list of occupations, see Broughton, "Economic Survey" 842f.; his evidence is all from the Imperial period.

[2] See J. Keil, "Thyateira," RE (2. Reihe) 6 (1937) 658.

[3] For a sketch of the Christian community in Thyateira in the Imperial and early Byzantine periods, see A. Wikenhauser, "Thyateira," Lexikon fuer Theologie und Kirche X (1965) 176f. Christian evidence which bears on the Jewish community will be brought in infra.

[4] For proseuche as a technical term meaning "synagogue," see Krauss, Syn.Alter. 9-17.

synagogue might be located near running water,[1] the Acts account probably refers to a more informal "place (customarily designated?) for prayer," since only women are present (contrary to the usual synagogue custom) and since elsewhere in Acts it is the term *synagoge* which is used of places where Paul preaches to an assembled Jewish congregation, e.g. 9:20, 13:5, 4, 43; 14:1; 17:1, 10, 17; 18:4, 19, etc. However, it is not improbable that this *proseuche* is being presented as a place used for prayer chiefly by Jews and by Gentiles sympathetic to Judaism: there is evidence (chiefly patristic) for prayers by assembled Jews in the "open air"[2] and the text itself calls Lydia a *sebomene*, the term in Acts for a Gentile who has adopted Jewish religious practices.[3] In the story from Acts, Lydia becomes typical of the Anatolian convert: her name is also that of the well-known territory,[1] her profession recalls a major industry of that part of Asia,[2] and her designation as a *sebomene* is in accord with the custom of the Paul of Acts (*kata to eiothos*, 17:2), who in a given city begins his missionary work with the Jewish population.

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[1] Krauss, Syn.Alter. 281-86 and H. Greeven, "*euchomai*," TW II 808.

[2] Krauss, Syn.Alter. 267-73; note the brief discussion (with uncertain issue) of sites for prayers in the open near fountains and water courses, 269.

[3] Feldman, "Jewish 'Sympathizers'" has shown that *sebomenos* (and related words *phoboumenos*, *theosebes* and *metuens*) did not always have this quite specific meaning given in Acts, but could mean no more than "pious" and might be used of Jews as well as of Gentiles; see also Leon, Jews of Ancient Rome 250-56 and Lifshitz, "Donateurs" 25f. On *theosebes* in the synagogue inscriptions at Sardis, L. Robert, Nouvelles Inscriptions 41-45, a customarily full treatment of the topic; see also the discussion infra, at the end of section iv. On "god-fearers" in Acts, K. Lake, "Proselytes and God-fearers" in Beginnings V 74-96.

2. An ex-voto to Theos Hypsistos, in the form of an eagle, was discovered in the Thyateira area in the last century, first noted by A. Wagener in 1853, and published with photographs by F. Cumont in 1912.[3] The dedication is brief: Μοσχιανὸς Βασσιαν[ὸς] (or Βασσιαν[οῦ]) θεῷ ὑψίστῳ. Cumont assigns it to the second century AD on the basis of letter forms and of the name Moschianos, which occurs on a number of coins of the second and third centuries from Thyateira.

The occurrence of *theos hypsistos* in this dedication is no sure indication of Jewish origin; *hypsistos* is a frequent epithet of God in the LXX, but also occurs commonly in dedications to Anatolian deities (see the discussion supra, chapter III B v). The eagles of the "Eagle Table" are impressive symbols in the Sardis synagogue (infra, chapter IV B vi) and eagles are a not uncommon decoration of Jewish inscriptions and architecture elsewhere,[1] but are also an appropriate attribute of any god addressed as "highest" or "god of heaven."[2] On comparison with the other Anatolian *theoi hypsistoi* already discussed, the Thyateira text has no particularly

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[1] Ramsay, Letters 336 note 2 supports the view that "Lydia was only applied to her as a secondary name or epithet, 'the Lydian';" however, he then would identify her with one of the two members of the Philippi congregation mentioned in Phil 4:2.

[2] For details for Asia Minor, see Broughton "Economic Survey" 817-23 and for Thyateira in particular, Bauer, Lexicon 365. In the second century AD the guild of "purple-dippers" in Hierapolis, Phrygia, included many Jews, who were to burn offerings at the grave of a member at each "feast of unleavened bread," CII 777 (for the view that this festival is Christian, see Krauss, Syn. Alter. 234f., and the works there cited); on the large Jewish community at Hierapolis, see supra, chapter III D i-iv.

[3] F. Cumont, "Un ex-voto au Theos Hypsistos," Bulletin d'Academie royale de Belgique (Classe des lettres) 1912, 251-53.

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[1] See Goodenough's full treatment, Symbols VIII 121-42. A bit more than a year after Goodenough's death (1965) the Sardis synagogue furnished striking support for his understanding of Jewish eagle-decorations: in "The Bosporus Inscriptions of the Most High God," JQR 47 (1956) 224-33, he notes that Schuerer, in his treatment of these inscriptions, was forced to deny that the Hypsistos worshippers were Jews in the usual sense because 1) a number of their monuments bore carvings of eagles, and 2) their officials included a priest, "which to him (Schuerer) implied sacrifices" (A. D. Nock, Conversion [1933] 63, with some hesitation followed Schuerer here.) Goodenough showed however that there are parallels at both points in the archeological evidence from Palestinian and Diaspora Judaism. In 1966, a dedication by a Jewish *hiereus* (Inscription IN 66.3) was discovered squarely in the center of Sardis synagogue; this and the Eagle Table (discovered in 1963) provide Goodenough's position with proof "tailor-made" to his argument. The implication of Tarn (Hellenistic Civilization 237 note 4) that eagle decorations indicate "unorthodox synagogues" is thus to be rejected, as is Frend's statement (Martyrdom 131 note 25) that "Theos Hypsistos" in a particular inscription is "surely" Zeus because the dedication in question is of "an eagle with outstretched wings."

[2] Generally, T. Schneider and E. Stemplinger, "Adler," RAC I 87-91 and Cook, Zeus, indices s.v. "eagle." On cosmic deities in Lydia and Phrygia, see chapter III D viii supra, chapter IV A v infra on Sabathikos, also Steinleitner, Beicht 76ff., and especially Robert, "Reliefs...d'Anatolie," 112ff. *to theion* is an example of a (newly created?) remote deity from this area, cf. Robert's comments thereon, and the dedication of an eagle to *to theion* and Apollo, which he mentions, 113f. (Nilsson comments on this article, GGR II 577 note 1).

Jewish features, but in view of the contemporary Sardis synagogue (with its Eagle Table) some thirty miles away, it is quite possible that a passing Lydian Gentile might take the dedication to be Jewish, or to have "something Jewish" about it. It is less probable that a Jew or a proselyte is responsible for it, although that is not to be excluded either; in a neighborhood containing a powerful Jewish community, the attempts of local craftsmen to create for Jewish buyers could have produced something like the Thyateira eagle, i.e. given the context in which it was found, a connection with Judaism is not out of the question.

3. Only one inscription from Thyateira is included in CII; it is CII 752 = CIG 3509 = IGRR IV 1281. Its significant section is as follows:

Φάβιος Ζώσιμος κατασκευάσας σόρον ἔθετο ἐπὶ τοποῦ καθαροῦ
... πρὸς τῷ Σαμβαθείῳ ἐν τῷ Χαλδαίου περιβόλῳ κτλ.

On the basis of the proconsul of Asia mentioned in a later line, Catilius Severus, the inscription is dated to the period, early second to early third century AD. Three officials with that name are listed in PIR:[1] The earliest is L. Catilius Severus Iulius Claudius Regilius, PIR II^2 558, consul suffectus AD 110 and consul ordinarius AD 120. Two Cn. Catilii Severi, apparently father (PIR II^2 556) and son (PIR II^2 557), are less well known, the first being frater Arvalis in AD 183 and the second in AD 213. Although

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[1] PIR II (1936^2) 556-58; all three articles are by E. Groag.

Schuerer[1] argued for the earliest Severus, in order that he might connect the Thyateira Sambatheion with the "Jezebel" mentioned in Rev 2:20, Bowersock has pointed out that of the three Severi, it is the earliest who is surely excluded; the proconsul of Asia is one of the other two and the text which mentions him is to be dated to the end of the second century or the beginning of the third.[2]

The two most debated elements in the inscription are πρὸς τῷ Σαμβαθείῳ and ἐν τῷ Χαλδαίου περιβόλῳ. Schuerer's position was as follows: the Sambatheion was "a sanctuary of the Chaldean Sibyl, in which a divinely inspired woman represented herself as the sibyl or the sibyl's prophetess, and issued oracular statements."[3] She was neither Jewish nor Christian, but pagan, though her cult may have incorporated Jewish elements, since there is evidence for a Hellenized Judaism in the area.[1] According to Schuerer, the Sambatheion could perhaps be the meeting house of a half-Jewish, half-Hellenized religious organization led by the prophetess, but it cannot be a synagogue in the usual sense because the inscription contains no (other) clearly Jewish elements and because a synagogue may not be located beside a graveyard, CII 752 being a funerary inscription.

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[1] Schuerer, "Die Prophetin Isabel" 49; in the last edition of his Geschichte, III 562, Schuerer continues to date the inscription to the time of Trajan.

[2] In a letter on this matter (dated 15 May 1967), G. W. Bowersock states: "The proconsul cannot be L. Catilius Severus, ca. 110... the normal interval between consulate and Asian proconsulate in this period is 15 years; no fewer than 13 years would be conceivable ...Thus Severus, ca. 110, could under no circumstances have been proconsul under Trajan. And there is no room for him on the proconsular fasti of Asia at the appropriate time under Hadrian. Therefore, your proconsul will be one of the two Severan Catilii Severi in all probability." Others have also denied this Asian proconsulship to the oldest Catilius Severus, in favor of one of the two younger men (i.e. either PIR II^2 556 or 557). In PIR II^2 557, Groag states, "Utrum hic (the younger) an pater eius proconsul Asiae fuerit (v.n. 556), parum constat." R. Hanslik, "Catilius," Kleine Pauly I 1085f., says the connection is probably with the younger Cn. Catilius (i.e. PIR II^2 557) but Magie, Roman Rule, 1586 picks the elder (i.e. PIR II^2 556).

[3] Schuerer, "Die Prophetin Isabel" 56.

While the Sambatheion has sometimes been considered a synagogue nevertheless,[2] it is today chiefly identified as Schuerer has done,[3] or it is connected with the deity Sabazios; these two latter possibilities will be examined in turn.

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[1] Schuerer, "Die Prophetin Isabel" 49; his evidence for Hellenized Anatolian Judaism is on 53-55, much of it coming from Apameia (Kibotos), Phrygia, on which, supra, chapter III C. For a more concise summary of his position on the Thyateira "sibyl," see Geschichte III 562 with notes.

[2] So CII 752 (following Krauss, Syn.Alter. 25f.) and CPJ III 46.

[3] When CII 752 is seen in its historical context (Asia Minor in the Imperial period), Schuerer's understanding of it gains a certain plausibility. At this time and even much earlier, western Asia Minor was associated with world-famous oracles. The grotto of the "Erythrean sibyl," one of the earliest, is located at Erythrae in Ionia (35 miles west of Smyrna), cf. H. W. Parke, Greek Oracles (1967) 50f. and Schuerer, Geschichte III 556-59. The two major oracles in the Imperial period are at Claros near Colophon (25 miles south of Smyrna) and at Didyma (15 miles south of Miletus), both oracles of Apollo, cf. Parke 137-41 and Nilsson, GGR II 470-72 (Didyma) and 475-78 (Claros). Of the written collections of "oracles," the Chaldean Oracles, dated to the second century AD, recall in their name the chaldaiou of CII 752, but are held to contain little or no Jewish material (cf. Nilsson, GGR II 479-81); the Sibylline Oracles, however, are in part clearly Jewish: the first section of book III is the product of Alexandrian Judaism (second half of the second century BC) and the second part

ii

The Sambatheion as a precinct of the "chaldean"[1] sibyl Sambethe: During the proliferation of sibyls in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods,[2] there appears a "Hebrew" or "chaldean" sibyl; the chief source, Pausanias, in a discussion of sibyls and oracular women, mentions a _gyne_ _chresmologos_ named Sabbe, who appears "among the Hebrews in Palestine," 10.12.9. Schuerer

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(continued from preceding page) (lines 295-488) probably originates in Anatolian Judaism during the first century BC (so Nilsson, GGR II 112, cf. the literature there cited). In addition, books IV-V are Jewish (end of the first century AD), I-II are Jewish with Christian reworking, and XI-XIV are Jewish but late and relatively unimportant (Nilsson, GGR II 481). P. Vielhauer has described the Jewish Sibyllines as the Diaspora Jews' counterpart of apocalyptic literature, and as a major apologetic tool in the Diaspora (Vielhauer in Hennecke, Apocrypha II 600, cf. 703-707 [these latter pages by A. Kurfess]). In the Imperial period the Claros oracle is reported to have proclaimed: "Iao is the highest god; he is Hades in winter, Zeus in spring, Helios in summer, Dionysos (?) in autumn"; if Iao is the Yahweh of the OT, then Jewish influence (or perhaps an attempt to include Anatolian Judaism in the Claros cult) is indicated, cf. Nilsson, GGR II 477f.; W. Fauth, "Iao," Kleine Pauly II 1314f. (bibliography) and A. D. Nock, "Oracles théologiques," REA 30 (1928) 280-90. While further discussion is out of place here, it is not difficult to see (in view of the above) how Schuerer might have expected to find a Jewish or Jewish-influenced sibyl at Thyateira in the Imperial period.

[1] Schuerer writes of a "chaldean" sibyl Sambethe because he takes the word _chaldaiou_ in the inscription to mean, "a Chaldean," i.e. "that well-known Chaldean who founded the oracle," "Die Prophetin Isabel" 52f. CPJ III 46 makes it a proper noun, "Khaldaios." In the opinion of Clerc, De Rebus Thyatirenorum (1893) 23, it might indicate a _Chaldaei_ _numinis_ _templum_.

[2] Rzach, "Sibyllen," RE (2. Reihe) 2 (1923) 2081-2102 lists nineteen individually identifiable sibyls; on their proliferation, 2075f. Schuerer's discussion of the "Hebrew-chaldean" sibyl is reproduced in Geschichte III 559-65.

combines this reference with a figure mentioned in an anonymous prologue to the Sibylline Oracles:

ἡ Χαλδαία ἤγουν ἡ Πέρσις ἡ κυρίῳ ὀνόματι καλουμένη Σαμβήθη, ἐκ τοῦ γένους οὖσα τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Νῶε.

"the Chaldean sibyl, also known as the Persian (sibyl), whose proper name is Sambethe, a descendant of the revered Noah";[1] the result is a "Hebrew-chaldean" sibyl named Sambethe or Sabbe.[2] According to Schuerer, the Thyateira Sambatheion is a precinct of this sibyl and was presided over by "the Chaldean" mentioned in the inscription; the inscription thus becomes the only epigraphic evidence for the assertion that the "Hebrew-chaldean" sibyl Sambethe possessed a holy place of her own (similar to that of the

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[1] Oracula Sibyllina, prologue, line 33f. (ed. J. Geffcken, p. 2). For the "persian sibyl," see Varro apud Lactantius Div.Instit. 1.6.8 (in a list of sibyls quoted from Varro) to which the above text is referring. In "Die Prophetin Isabel" 50f., Schuerer states that the above-quoted text is, in all probability, the source of all later references to Sambethe. In the last edition of the Geschichte, III 561, cf. 567f., printed nearly two decades later, he holds that the above text derives from a Theosophia written at the end of the fifth century; thus, from this Theosophia (or, more accurately, from its sources?) derive all references to Sambethe.

[2] That these two names probably refer to the same deity is accepted by Hoefer, "Sabbe," RL IV 268; by Rzach, "Sibyllen," RE (2. Reihe) 2 (1923) 2098; by Gressmann, "Sabbatistai," RE (2. Reihe) 1 (1920) 1565; and by Beer, "Sambethe," RE (2. Reihe) 1 (1920) 2119f. Gressmann, following W. Schulze, holds that Sambethe is not a sibyl but an Anatolian goddess whose existence is attested only by the Thyateira inscription! For the reasoning involved, see Gressmann's article here cited, 1561f. On the argument generally, CPJ III 47-49.

Pythia at Delphi), i.e. that she is something more than a character in ancient oracle-literature.[1]

Clarification of the problem which concerned Schuerer was to come from two pieces of evidence not available to him: first, the Sardis synagogue has indicated a large and powerful Jewish community thirty miles from Thyateira in that period to which the Sambatheion inscription is dated. Second, evidence chiefly from Egyptian papyri (collected in CPJ) strongly suggests that such personal names as Sabbataios, Sambathaios and Sambathion[2] were adopted both by Jews and by Gentiles because of their connection with the word Sabbath, the Jews' observance of the seventh day being a custom well known and on occasion copied by Gentiles in many parts of the Roman Empire.[3] In several cases (e.g. CPJ 481,

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[1] The hypotheses themselves become the firm foundation of further elaboration; thus, in "Kleinas. Judentum" G. Kittel lists three stages of development: 1) the cult of the Anatolian goddess Sambethe, 2) the identification of Sambethe with the Jewish sibyl, and 3) the linking of this deity to "Sabbath," so that the Sambatheion becomes a "Sabbath-house," i.e. a synagogue (16).

[2] An Anatolian variant is Eusambatios, the Jewish *presbyteros* of Corycus, Cilicia, CII 790, fourth or fifth century.

[3] See Tcherikover's chapter, "The Sambathions," (with a long and valuable introduction) in CPJ III 43-87. The Hebrew name Sabbathai (שבתי) was brought over into Greek in a number of forms; "there were four different transcriptions...in the Hellenistic period, Sabbathios, Sabbataios, Sambathaios, Sambataios, the feminine form being, probably, Sabbathis and Sambathis. In the early Roman period these forms were replaced by new ones: Sambathion or Sambation for the males, and Sambathion or Sambation for females," 44. The variation between "Sabb-" and "Samb-" thus appears only orthographical. On Gentile observance of the Sabbath, 51-56. In a review in JRS 56 (1966) 257, B. R. Rees refers with approval to this chapter on the Sambathions as "the most valuable section" of the volume.

484f., 487, 489, 494, etc.) such words occur as the only "Hebrew" names in a purely Egyptian environment; V. Tcherikover, the editor of CPJ, holds that those who gave such a name to their children with full cognizance of its meaning were Gentile observers of the Sabbath. (He admits that in some cases the name may have become a traditional one for a family or community, its original derivation and significance being forgotten.) Tcherikover also allows that certain of these Gentiles may have gone so far as to hypostatize a "goddess of Sabbath" as a personification of the Sabbath itself. This gives a quite likely explanation of the occurrence of the name Sambethe in ancient oracle-literature,[1] since (whatever the origin of the "Jewish sibyl") the name is more probably a result than the cause of the practice of bestowing upon one's child (or slave?)[2] a name beginning in Sabbath- or Sambath-. The practice of Sabbath-observance brought about the adoption of such names by

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[1] It may also explain the occurrence of the name Sambathis in what appears to be a schoolboy's list of deities, written on an ostrakon, CPJ 496, late third or early fourth century. The text is unclear, however, and at most indicates that one Egyptian child considered "Sambathis" a deity, perhaps the god of his Jewish neighbors or of Gentile Sabbath observers (his parents, possibly?) whose religious practices he may have only imperfectly understood. On the ostrakon, H. Youtie, "Sambathis," HTR 37 (1944) 209-18.

[2] CPJ 490 shows that, after being sold, a female slave of Phrygian origin had her name changed from Sambatis to Athenaias; Tcherikover suggests that this is because, while her previous owners may have been Sabbath-observers, her new owners were not (see notes to CPJ 490). The reverse could also occur.

Jews and then by Gentiles; as the use of such names spread,[1] it made Sambethe the logical name for the Jewish sibyl.

The evidence in CPJ also makes it likely that Sabbath-observers made up ἡ ἑταιρήα τῶν Σαμβατι[στῶν in Cilicia, which was convened by a *synagogeus* and worshipped a deity with the title ὁ θεὸς ὁ Σαββατιστής (the variation between Sa*m*b- and Sa*b*b- is in the texts); if there is a connection with Judaism here, it is surely with the Sabbath.[2] The Sabbatios who gives his name to one of the shops attached to the Sardis synagogue was surely a Jew;[1] he attended a synagogue, not a holy place of Sambethe. The word Sabbath is behind the term *sabbateion* used by Julius Caesar of the synagogues *of Asia* (in a decree preserved in Josephus, AJ 16.164);[2] the same appears true for the Sambatheion at Thyateira as well. To hypothesize a cult-place of Sambethe there is no longer possible.

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[1] Volume I of CII gives a number of such names from European texts, some in Greek, others in Latin, see its indices.

[2] These two inscriptions were discovered by J. Bent at Elaeussa Sebaste, on the coast ca. 50 miles southwest of Tarsus; E. Hicks published them, "Inscriptions from Western Cilicia," JHS 12 (1891) 233-36, dates them to soon after Augustus and considers them Jewish: "The derivation from *sabbata* is the most obvious, and there is really nothing against it. This synagogue of Jews is organized after the manner of a Hellenic *thiasos*," 236. The longer inscription (Hicks' no. 16) also mentions *naoi* (line 12; on the terms *naos*, *hieron* and *templum* to designate Jewish buildings, Krauss, Syn.Alter. 24, but also E. Bickerman, "Altars" 159f., with note 64f.), the erection of inscribed stelae (line 14, cf. line 22-24 and CPJ III 53 note 1) and a *hiereus* (line 24f., cf. note 21 supra), making the resemblances to a "hellenic *thiasos*" so close that the texts are omitted in CII, though apparently accepted by Juster, Juifs I 192f; they are considered the product of Sabbath-observers by Krauss, Syn.Alter. 27 and by CPJ III 47. (There is ample evidence for the Jewish communities of Cilicia, most of it later than the above inscriptions; a full though sometimes uncritical list is given in Juster, Juifs I 192f.) Half of Asia Minor lies between Thyateira and Elaeussa Sebaste, but Schulze and Gressmann saw in Theos Sabbatistes the consort or male counterpart of the "Anatolian mother-goddess" of the Sambatheion; see Gressmann's summary in "Sabbatistai," RE (2. Reihe) 1 (1920) 1561. Tcherikover has shown, however, that in Egypt as in Europe (supra, preceding note) names such as Sabbathios, Sabbatis, Sambathaios and Sambathion chiefly suggest the Jews *as the race which observes the Sabbath*, and that if such names were later taken over by Gentiles it was also in connection with Sabbath-observance. If there is a

iii

The Sambatheion as related to the deity Sabazios: The same kind of research and field excavation which combined to make Schuerer's explanation of the Thyateira Sambatheion quite improbable,[3]

(continued from preceding page) connection between Judaism and the Sabbatistai of Cilicia, it is in the fact that the latter observe the Sabbath in some fashion. That they called their deity Theos Sabbatistes (rather than a title more common in Diaspora Judaism) indicates that they were most probably Gentiles, so Nilsson, GGR II 666; Cumont, "Mysteres" 65; Bickermann, "Altars" 154; Hengel, "Synagogeninschrift von Stobi" 169. Worship of a Sambethe is excluded.

[1] Robert, Nouvelles Inscriptions 57, no. 20, a late Roman graffito on a sherd; cf. BASOR 170 (1963) 50f. with fig. 29. "Sabbatios' shop" is located at E 75-80 / S 0 - 4.5.

[2] This is the only occurrence of the word, but its meaning is clear from the context; the Liddell-Scott-Jones translation is wide of the mark, "a house in which the Sabbath service was held, perhaps a synagogue." On the Josephus passage, Krauss, Syn.Alter. 25f.

[3] The deity "Sambethe" of Thyatiera continues to appear in standard reference works, e.g. Tarn, Hellenistic Civilization 226; Lexikon fuer Theologie und Kirche X (1965) 176f. (by A. Wikenhauser); Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible IV (1962) 638 (by F. Filson); but see the wise reserve of Nilsson, GGR II 665 note 5.

has also proved that Lydia and Phrygia are major centers for the cult of the god Sabazios.[1] Thus it could be suggested that such Anatolian names as Sabbatios, Sambatios, Sanbatios, Sabbatis, Sanbatis and Eusambatios,[2] and perhaps the word Sambatheion as well derive from that deity and have nothing to do with Judaism; or, alternately, that a combination of Judaism and Sabazios-worship has occurred at Thyateira and perhaps in Cilicia and elsewhere in Asia Minor. The highly syncretistic character of the Sabazios cult and the connections with Judaism which could be made through the deity's name,[3] myth and festivals[4] have been offered as support of the latter explanation. For the present purpose, it must be determined whether the Thyateira Sambatheion might be related to a Sabazios cult and, more broadly, whether the Judaism here under consideration might have become assimilated to a Sabazios cult at any point.

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[1] They are "the chief centers of his cult," F. Walton, "Sabazius," OCD 785; cf. Eisele, "Sabazios," RL IV 235.

[2] In the following, numbers of obviously Christian inscriptions are starred: Sabbatios, MAMA III 678* (Cilicia) and the Sardis synagogue inscription discussed by Robert, Nouvelles Inscriptions 57, no. 20. Sambatios, MAMA I 306* (Phrygia). Sanbatios, MAMA I 167* (Phrygia), MAMA III 166, 177*, 493b*, 686*, 737* (all Cilicia). MAMA III 678* is the funerary inscription of a *kerameus* Sabbatios, MAMA III 737* is that of the son of a *kerameus* Sanbatios (both are from Corycus, Cilicia); should they refer to the same man, they would be a clear example of orthographical variation, from Sabb- to Sanb-. Sabbatis, MAMA VII 222 (Phrygia). Sanbatis, a Jewish *presbyteros* from Bithynia, CII 780. Eusambatios, another *presbyteros*, from Corycus, Cilicia, CII 790.

[3] Compare *kurios Sabazios*, "Lord Sabazios" with κύριος σαββάτων "lord of the Sabbath" or κύριος σαβαώθ "lord of hosts." On a direct connection between Sabazios and Sabbath, see Eisele, "Sabazios," RL IV 263f.

[4] See Nilsson, GGR II 662-67, esp. 666. Three pagan ideas about Judaism are at work here, 1) the Jewish God as associated with wine, because of the cultic use of wine by Jews, cf. Goodenough, Symbols VI 132-34. 2) The Sabbath as a holiday, i.e. a day for parties and celebrations. 3) Sabazios as a Jewish Sabbath-god, because of the similarity in sound between "Sabazios" and "Sabbath." Cumont, "Mystères" 65, makes an additional connection: in Gen 9:20f.,

In Greece and Rome Sabazios is viewed as an interloper, a foreign deity. He has devotees in Athens as early as the fifth century BC, but his origin is exceedingly unclear; indeed, in view of the many examples of syncretism in the Sabazios inscriptions and monuments, and the great diversity of attributes associated with him, it is no longer possible to speak of a single origin for the Sabazios cult as it exists in Asia Minor in the Imperial period.[1]

(continued from preceding page) Noah is described as the first man to make wine; this leads him to be identified with Sabazios, who is the "equivalent of the Greco-Roman Bacchus," the wine god; for Cumont's evidence, 65f., cf. Nilsson, loc. cit. For Noah at Apameia, Phrygia, see supra, chapter III C ii.

[1] The most useful study of Sabazios is still Eisele's article, "Sabazios," RL IV 232-64, with the updating provided by Nilsson, GGR II 658-67. Two articles by Cumont also contain useful information, "Mystères" 63-79, and "A propos de Sabazius et du Judaisme," MusB 14 (1910) 55-60. The material and presuppositions of H. Gressmann's section on Sabazios, Die orientalischen Religionen im hellenistisch-roemischen Zeitalter (1930) 110-23 are contained in W. Oesterley, "The Cult of Sabazios," in The Labyrinth, ed. S. Hooke (1935) 113-58. S. Johnson's article, "A Sabazios Inscription from Sardis" is the most recent summary of Sabazios evidence and is especially useful because it concerns itself with the Sardis area. On the "continual syncretism and variation" of the Sabazios cult, see Johson, 5-8. Schaefer's article, "Sabazios," RE (2. Reihe) 1 (1914) 1540-51 is still incomplete; the Nachtraege mentioned on 1551 have never appeared. Lydian evidence for Sabazios is conveniently assembled in Keil, "Kulte Lydiens," 258f.

Understanding of the Anatolian Sabazios cult is further complicated by a universal practice of discussing the deity Hypsistos (cf. chapter III B v supra) at the same time. Both gods are discussed together, even at times identified, once a connection between them has been established. The single clear piece of epigraphical evidence for such a connection is not from Asia Minor, but from Serdica (Sophia), Thrace, from the reign of Tiberius: here[1] a ϑίασος Σεβαζιανός (a *thiasos* "of" Sebazios?) is mentioned in a dedication ϑεῷ ἐπηκόῳ ὑψίστῳ.

To this inscription evidence from two other sites is often added: The first is the Mysian coastal town of Panormus, near Cyzicus, on the Propontis about 100 miles north of Thyateira; from here come two inscribed reliefs of about the second century AD,[2] which are perhaps illegitimately[1] referred to the same cult organization: the first, a dedication by a certain Thallos to Zeus Hypsistos, shows Zeus, Artemis and Apollo in the major picture; below are two smaller pictures, the upper one a banquet scene, the lower showing *inter alia* a nude dancing girl and a male dancer making an obscene (?) gesture. The second relief honors Stratonike, a priestess of Cybele and Apollo; it also shows a banquet, to which the phrase ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διὸς συναγωγῇ probably refers.[2]

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[1] First published by Domaszewski, Arch. epigr. Mitth. aus Oesterr. 10 (1886) 238; reproduced in Cook, Zeus II 878f., cf. Nilsson, GGR II 662 note 4. Cumont, "Mystères" 67, suggests that the spelling "Sebazianos" is a deliberate attempt to establish a connection with the *sebomenoi*, (which he takes as the technical term for Gentile adherents to Judaism, but see page 189, note 2, infra). For the most recent discussion, Johnson, "A Sabazios Inscription from Sardis" 10 with note 29. John Strugnell has reminded me that the *thiasos* might equally well be linked with the Caesar-cult cf. (Latin "Augustus" = Greek "Sebastos"); the remainder of the inscription is too fragmentary to be helpful at this point.

[2] On epigraphic grounds, Robert claims that the usual date (end of the second century BC) given for the "Thallos" inscription is "impossible"; it must be later, Hellenica VII (1949) 43 note 3. Nock locates the "Thallos" inscription in the second century AD; the dated "Stratonike" inscription is from "93/4 AD, if the Sullan era was used, ca. 114/5 if the Pompeian," "Gild of Zeus Hypsistos," 56 note 25. GGR II 660 note 5 participates in the confusion caused by the mislabeling of plates in the book (see following page, note 2, infra); the date given, ca. 125 BC, reproduces that of Cumont, "Mystères" 77.

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[1] J. Leipoldt, Die Religionen in der Umwelt der Urchristentums, Heft 9-11 (1926) of Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte, ed. H. Haas, locates the "Stratonike" dedication (his no. 154) at Nicea, but the "Thallos" (his no. 155) in "the Cyzicus area." Robert denies that both inscriptions are from the same sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos, Hellenica VII (1959) 41 note 3; cf. the caution of Nock, "Gild of Zeus Hypsistos" 56 note 25 and Bickermann, "Altars" 148 note 32. Nilsson considers both to be from the same cult, "A propos du tombeau de Vincentius," Opuscula Selecta III (1960) 180 note 13, originally published in Mélanges Ch. Picard (1949) 764-69.

[2] So Nilsson, GGR II 666, see the description of both reliefs there; in this book however the situation has been complicated by an error in the numbering of the plates: the "Thallos" dedication, which on 666 is numbered Tafel 14.4, is actually Tafel 14.3 (in the picture the first two words of the inscription, *dii hypsisto*, are faintly legible; a more useful reproduction is Goodenough, Symbols III 845). The reference to the "*synagoge* of Zeus" is clear in the last line of the "Stratonike" dedication, which is numbered on the plate as Tafel 14.4 but described on 666 as 14.3. Both pictures, correctly identified, are to be found in Leipoldt, op. cit. (supra, preceding note) no. 154 ("Stratonike") and no. 155 ("Thallos"); the full text of each inscription is given on xix. To avoid further confusion, the reliefs are described herein with the name of the person involved, "Thallos" or "Stratonike."

The usual combination of evidence from these two reliefs is as follows: the Stratonike relief in its inscription refers to a synagoge; though this word is used of pagan assemblies, it is here considered indication of Jewish influence.[1] The "Zeus" of this inscription is understood to be "Zeus Hypsistos" by comparison with the Thallos inscription, where the full name appears, and the banquet scenes on both stelae become proof that the synagoge of Zeus (Hypsistos) held ritual banquets like those of Diaspora Judaism and of the Sabazios-priest Vincentius (as depicted in his tomb chamber in the catacombs of Praetextatus in Rome).[2] Finally, the vulgarity of the Thallos relief, "where Sabazios is not mentioned, is adduced as proof of the licentious character of the mysteries of Sabazios"![3] With such loose connections are Sabazios, Hypsistos and Anatolian Judaism held together.

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[1] Cumont, "Mystères" 76f.

[2] Cumont, "Mystères" 77f.; Nilsson, GGR II 665-67. On Vincentius, Nilsson, GGR II 661-67 (bibliography); Goodenough, Symbols II 45-50 (discounts Jewish influence here after investigating supposed "Jewish" characteristics).

[3] Bickermann, "Altars" 148 note 32. The usual proof-text for Sabazian licentiousness is a vexed passage from Valerius Maximus (apud Julius Paris 1.3.2): "Cn. Cornelius Hispalus praetor peregrinus, M. Pompilio Laenate, L. Calpurnio consulibus (i.e. 139 BC)...Ioudaeos (!) qui Sabazi Iovis cultu Romanos inficere mores conati sunt, repetere domos suas coegit." The most detailed discussion of the text (though with some unacceptable conclusions) is Cumont, "A propos de Sabazius et du Judaisme," MusB 14 (1910) 55-60, cf. Bickermann, 144-48.

The other site adduced to prove the combination or identification of Sabazios and Hypsistos is Tanais, on the northwest shore of the Black Sea. Here several persons named Sambathion are listed among the worshippers of Theos Hypsistos (third century AD); for those who wish to see in the personal name Sambathion a reference to Sabazios, these inscriptions offer further evidence of the coalescence of the two deities.[1]

The bridge seen between Sabazios and Hypsistos is clearly that of Judaism; Nilsson makes this explicit when he begins his treatment of the links between the two deities by showing how each was involved with Hellenized Judaism.[2] The frequent appearance of Hypsistos material and evidence from Diaspora Judaism in other discussions of Sabazios shows how widespread the assumption is.[3] In Lydia and Phrygia, however, there are many Sabazios monuments which lack Jewish characteristics; if this kind of Sabazios cult is strongly attested in the Thyateira area, then it could be argued that Sabazios, and not Sabbath, is the word behind the name of the Thyateira building.

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[1] So Eisele, "Sabazios," RL IV 239, but cf. CPJ III 45 and section ii of the present chapter, supra.

[2] Nilsson, GGR II 662.

[3] Bickermann, "Altars" 148 note 32, speaks sarcastically of those who, "fascinated by Sabazios,...outdo syncretism of the ancient mythologists"; Oesterley, "The Cult of Sabazios" is his prize example.

For Thyateira, so long within Pergamum's sphere of influence, the most important cult of Sabazios was that established by queen Stratonike within the Attalid royal house; the queen (wife of Eumenes II, ruled 197-59 BC, and, after his death, wife of his brother, Attalus II, ruled 159-38 BC) was the daughter of king Ariarathes IV of Cappadocia and perhaps brought the cult from her homeland.[1]

For Lydia itself, J. Keil lists ten dedications to Sabazios at seven locations,[2] to which those at Ayazviran and Sardis must now be added; the most significant are 1) Philadelphia, a first century relief dedicated to Zeus Sabazios Neaulites; it depicts a bearded man pouring liquid into a krater from which two snakes drink.[3] 2) Golde, a first century dedication to Zeus Sabazios and Meter Hipta.[4] 3) Sandal, an Aur. Stratoneikos, divinely punished for having unknowingly cut wood from the grove of Zeus Sabazios and Artemis Anaeitis, erects a memorial of the event,

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[1] On queen Stratonike, Magie, Roman Rule, 26f., with notes 72 and 76; on the cult generally, Johnson, "A Sabazios Inscription from Sardis" 3f, and Eisele, "Sabazios," RL IV 237f.

[2] Keil, "Kulte Lydiens" 258f. The following list is Keil's, with supplemental bibliography and the addition of the two new sites.

[3] Keil-Premerstein, Zweite Reise 84 and Abb. 43; Nilsson, GGR II 660 note 3.

[4] Keil-Premerstein, Zweite Reise 96, no. 188 and Abb. 58.

AD 235/6.[1] 4) Also at Sandal, a Trophimos, punished by Zeus Sabazios, erects a similar confession inscription.[2] 5) Ayazviran, a confession inscription erected by someone (name lost) who was punished with an eye-affliction for having appropriated a slave dedicated to Sabazios and Meter Hipta.[3] 6) Sattai, a second or third century AD dedication to Sabazios by an Elianos who is further described with a word beginning Eisr-; the completion of the word to read Eisraelites is "raeumlich entsprechend, aber sachlich bedenklich" according to Keil and v. Premerstein, the original editors, but it has been adopted by G. Kittel (without mention of the disclaimer) as evidence of a syncretism of Sabazios worship and Anatolian Judaism.[4]

All these inscriptions come from a very small area: a triangle with corners at Sardis, Philadelphia and Saittae would have two sides of thirty miles (Sardis-Philadelphia and Philadelphia-Saittae) and one side of less than forty miles (Saittae-Sardis), and would include all six inscriptions just listed, four other less significant pieces of evidence also on Keil's list, and the Sardis inscription described infra. Either within that triangular area or ca. 15 miles south of it is a final inscription, 7) from Coloe (?), where the village (ἡ Κολοηνῶν κατοικία) dedicated to Zeus Sabazios a relief bearing his image (AD 100/1); also in the picture are the deities Men and Hermes.[1]

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[1] The date is from W. Ramsay, "Artemis-Leto and Apollo-Lairbenos," JHS 10 (1889) 227, no. 22 = Steinleitner, Beicht 43, no. 14.

[2] Ramsay, art. cit. (preceding note) 225f., no. 17 = Steinleitner, Beicht 43f., no. 15. Mislocated at Dionysopolis, Phrygia (due to a misreading of the Ramsay reference) by Eisele, "Sabazios" RL IV 236.

[3] P. Herrmann, Ergebnisse einer Reise in Nortostlydien, DenkschrWien 80, 1 (1962) 50f., no. 45. This inscription and the evidence from the recent Sardis excavations are not in Keil's list.

[4] Keil-Premerstein, Zweite Reise 113, no. 218; Kittel, "Kleinas. Judentum" 16 and note 111.

Of the only two known dedications to a deity Sabathikos[2] (often linked to Sabazios), one is from within the Sardis-Philadelphia-Saittae triangle and the other was found less than 15 miles to the east of it; the first is a brief dedication, but the other (from the end of the first century BC) addresses *hagios*[3]

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[1] Location: Keil, "Kulte Lydiens" 259 places it within the area delimited; but see Ramsay, art. cit. (see preceding page, note 1, supra) 225 note 4. On the interpretation of the relief, Nilsson, GGR II 658 note 1, disagreeing with Robert, Hellenica VI (1948) 111-13, the most thorough publication of the relief. The relief is shown in RL IV (sic, GGR II 658 note 1 is a misprint) 244, Abb. 3 and (more clearly) in Hellenica VI, planche xxvi, 2. In "Mystères" 74 note 4, Cumont (improbably) connects this relief with that on the Vincentius tomb in Rome (cf. Nilsson, GGR II 661-67) where a *mortal*, Vibia, is accompanied by Hermes.

[2] The deity's name is not Sabbathikos, despite Nilsson, GGR II 666; since half of Asia Minor lies between this area in Lydia and Elaeussa Sebaste, Cilicia, the locus of the Sabbatistai (page 167, note 2, supra) and since the two extensive texts (one from each location) have no great similarity, it is at least precipitous to say that the god of the Cilician Sabbatistai "findet sich wieder" (GGR II 666) in Sabathikos. The caution of Keil-Premerstein, Zweite Reise 118 is more appropriate: the two deities are "perhaps" analogous.

[3] The adjective is in part a restoration of the original editors, the first two letters being lost. On *hagios*, see K. Kuhn, TW I 88f. and Cumont, "Mystères" 68 who calls the word "l'épithète propre du dieu phrygien (i.e. Sabazios)."

Sabathikos as a "cosmic" deity:[1]

> Ὠ μέγας ὢν κα[ὶ] δυνατὸς δ[υνάμει, Χ]αίροις, ὦ μακάρων
> πάντων [τὲ μ]έγιστος ὑπάρχων καὶ δυνατὸς [κραῖν]ειν·
> ταῦτα γὰρ ἐστι θεοῦ τοῦ κατέχον[τος] τὸν κόσμον, κτλ.

The original editors, Keil and v. Premerstein, see Jewish influence in the acclamation and in the deity's name, behind which they suppose a reference to the Sabbath,[2] but see the discussion following (section v).

The Sardis inscription, a fragment of a priest's dedication to Sabazios, is dated by its editor, S. Johnson, to the reign of Eumenes II of Pergamum, 197-59 BC; he sees the inscription as evidence that, "for whatever reason -- loyalty to the state or because of religious propaganda -- the cult of Zeus in his Sabazios form (sic) has spread to Lydia. Here he replaces Men or Attis and is no doubt associated with the great Mother, known in Sardis as Cybele or Artemis." Johnson concludes: "nothing in the inscriptions from Sardis and other places in Lydia suggests involvement of Jews or Judaism in the Sabazios cult."[1]

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[1] Keil-Premerstein, Zweite Reise 117f., no. 224, this inscription was found at Bebekli (15 miles east-northeast of Philadelphia), cf. Keil, "Kulte Lydiens" 258. The restorations are those of these editors, and are conjectural. It is Nock who labels Sabathikos a cosmic deity, "Gild of Zeus Hypsistos" 63 note 61.

[2] Keil, "Kulte Lydiens" 263f., disputes the connection of Sabathikos and Sabazios. Nilsson, GGR II 666, considers the acclamation clearly Jewish. In RL IV, Sabathikos is claimed for Sabazios by Eisele on page 237, and for Sabbe, the "Jewish sibyl," by Hoefer, on page 267!

A line drawn east-southeast from Pergamum through Thyateira passes then through the Sardis-Philadelphia-Saittae triangle; the distance from Pergamum to the center of this triangle is some 75 miles, the distance between Thyateira and Philadelphia less than 55 miles. The evidence of Sabazios worship in this area is strong and varied, the monuments spanning a half-millennium of time; the Jewish evidence in the same area is as follows:

In Mysia: Elaea, a port-town some fifteen miles from Pergamum, may be the place from which the "synagogue of Elaea" in Rome takes its name, e.g. because it was founded by emigrants from this part of Asia; the evidence (CII 281 and 509) is inconclusive.[2] At Pergamum itself, a Jewish community is attested for the first century BC, when the Roman governor L. Valerius Flaccus misappropriated some of its funds; in his defense of Flaccus, Cicero (Flac. 68) implies that the money was intended for Jerusalem, i.e. as the annual temple tax.[3] From the Imperial period come two pieces of archeological evidence: the first, a large architectural fragment now in the Bergama museum, shows a well-carved menorah and, at its left, a lulab and ethrog (the portion to the right of the menorah is lost); in all probability the piece (.51 m. high) comes originally from a synagogue, whence it was later taken to become part of the "red basilica," a large and early Christian structure on the plain before the acropolis.[1]

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[1] Johnson, "A Sabazios Inscription from Sardis" 11f.

[2] Although a number of towns of this name are attested in the ancient world, Kittel, "Kleinas. Judentum" 18 note 135 follows CII in picking the Anatolian location; Leon is more cautious, Jews of Ancient Rome 240, cf. 145-47.

[3] Cicero, Flac. 66-68, cf. Magie, Roman Rule 379f. with notes. On the other cities whose Jews experienced the same confiscations, see supra, chapter III C i (Apameia) and D v (Laodicea). On Cicero's references here to the Roman Jews, Leon, Jews of Ancient Rome 5-8.

The second is a small bomos, a half-meter high, originally (according to the inscription) bearing a lamp and dedicated to θεὸς κύριος ὁ ὦν εἰς ἀεί. The vocabulary and the lamp suggest that the dedicator, Zopiros, is a Gentile proselyte, honoring the God of the Old Testament whom he calls Kurios, assuming perhaps that this is his proper name.[2]

(continued from preceding page) On Pergamum in the Imperial period, Schultze, Staedte II.2 20-49. For a decree expressing Pergamum's support of Israel in the Maccabean period, Josephus, AJ 14. 247-55; in 255 it is implied that Jews and Pergamenes were on good terms in the time of Abraham!

[1] The most accessible picture is Goodenough, Symbols III 877, cf. II 78f. The relief was originally published in Altertuemer von Pergamon, I.2 ed. A. Conze (1913) 320, Bild 10. The museum now dates it to the second century AD, which is probably a bit early since the basilica (now called "Kizil Avli") was originally constructed in the time of Trajan or Hadrian, cf. W. Zschietzschmann, "Pergamon," RE 19 (1938) 1242-45 with map, Abb. 1. For another example of the reuse of a Jewish relief in a Christian structure, see supra, chapter II A, Priene.

[2] Nilsson, "Zwei Altaere aus Pergamon," Opuscula Selecta III (1960) 297-301 (originally published in Eranos 54 [1956] 167-72); Bickermann, "Altars" 158; G. Delling, "Die Altarinschriften eines Gottesfuerchtigen in Pergamon," NT 7 (1964/5) 73-80. The most probable date for the inscription is third century AD, so Delling,

In Lydia five sites are known from the small area under discussion: Magnesia ad Sipylum (funerary inscription of the Jew Strato, son of Tyrannos, CII 753). Hypaepa, less than 20 miles south of Sardis; here the inscription CII 755 (ca. AD 200) Ἰουδα[ί]ων νεωτέρων may have marked the place "of the younger Jews" in the local synagogue (so S. Krauss); however, since the word "Jews" would be unnecessarily precise within the synagogue, it is probably a more public marker, perhaps designating the place of the Jewish ephebes in the local palaestra (so S. Reinach and CII).[1] On the other three sites, see the appropriate sections: Philadelphia (next section), Thyateira (section i supra), and Sardis (chapter IV B infra).

iv

Philadelphia, less than 30 miles east-southeast of Sardis, has furnished a great deal of evidence of highly varied religious

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(continued from preceding page) 73 note 6. On the use of lamps in Imperial cult at Pergamum, H. Pleket, "An Aspect of the Emperor Cult: Imperial Mysteries," HTR 58 (1965) 341-45, 347. For a similar altar and lamp-dedication, but to Theos Hypsistos, see supra, section i, and the discussion of Hypsistos supra, chapter III B v; this altar is now located at Saricam, Lydia, some 20 miles southwest of Thyateira.

[1] Krauss, Syn.Alter. 231, no. 60, cf. 395f.; Reinach, "Les Juifs d'Hypaepa," REJ 10 (1885) 74f. Schuerer, Geschichte III 91, thinks the latter explanation probable.

practices, pagan, Jewish and Christian.[1] An Attalid foundation, it appears to have functioned as a representative of Attalid and then of Roman Hellenism in the Lydian interior;[2] it was itself influenced at the same time by what Nilsson calls "the Lydian-Phrygian (religious) mentality" as manifest, e.g. in the pagan confession inscriptions of the Imperial period and, earlier, in the private cult established by one Dionysios in the first century BC.[3] This cult maintained its own oikos, containing altars to a number of deities; its members were bound (under threat of punishment by the gods) to a strict code of personal conduct, revealed to Dionysios by Zeus in a dream.

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[1] Generally, Keil, "Philadelphia," RE 19 (1938) 2091-93 and Ramsay, Letters 391-412. On the city's many deities, see the lists of Keil, "Kulte Lydiens" 250-61.

[2] Ramsay, Letters (in the title to the chapter on Philadelphia) calls pre-Christian Philadelphia a "missionary city."

[3] Confession inscriptions, Steinleitner, Beicht no. 18f. and Nilsson, GGR II 578f. On the private cult, GGR II 290-92. The code is most readily accessible in F. Sokolowski, Lois Sacrées de l'Asie Mineure (1955) 53-58, no. 20. The most extensive discussion of the cult is O. Weinreich, Stiftungen und Kultsatzungen eines Privatheiligtums in Philadelphia in Lydien, SBHeidelberg 16 (1919); in his section, "Reinheitsvorschriften; sittliche Gebote," 54-62, esp. 59, he compares the regulations in this inscription with those in Didache and Barnabas, showing "how much of Christian ethics was anticipated by the small and local religious associations of Asia Minor," 58. More significant for the present purpose, he also includes the Jewish Ps.-Phocilides in the same comparison, indicating that the ethics of early Christianity, Judaism and some Anatolian paganism have major elements in common.

The existence of a Jewish community in the Philadelphia area[1] in the latter part of the first century AD is attested in a letter to the local Christians, Rev. 3:7-13; they, like the church at Smyrna (supra, chapter II B ii), were under pressure from "those of the synagogue of Satan who say that they are Jews and are not, but lie" (3:9). There is no implication either in the Smyrnean letter (Rev. 2:8-11) or here that these opponents are within the church as a faction or party opposing John; they are rather non-Christian Jews,[2] their hostility aroused perhaps because of the conversion of fellow Jews to Christianity.

A second letter, also extant, was directed to Philadelphia Christians some two decades later by Ignatius, bishop of Antioch in Syria; he had passed through Philadelphia on his way to execution in Rome. While the "letters" of the NT Revelation of John are brief notes of encouragement in the face of oncoming persecution,[1] the concerns of Ignatius are with correcting and purifying the Anatolian Christian communities and strengthening the authority and position of their leaders. In his letter to Philadelphia, he is occupied particularly with the danger of "Judaizing" (Phld. 6 and 8, cf. 9), whose proponents demand that Christians (including Gentile Christians) be circumcised and observe Jewish regulations (e.g. food laws).[2] He warns the Philadelphia congregation of "division and wrong doctrine," and of the "specious wolves" who would try to win them over (2.1f.); he mentions that on his visit there he found that a "filtering out" (*apodiylismos*) of these opponents was taking place (3.2). Clearly the opponents are Christians, not Jews, and the danger of which we learn from Ignatius is within the Christian community (not outside it, as was the case earlier). Ignatius mentions that he had debated with them in vain during his visit to the city (Phld. 8) and that his representatives had been treated disrespectfully (probably by the same opponents) during their later visit (11.1).

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[1] The synagogue inscription discussed infra, CII 754, was found in Deliler, a small village some seven miles east of the city; on the Philadelphians' practice of living outside the city itself, see Ramsay, Letters 406-08.

[2] So W. Schrage, "*synagoge*," TW VII 827; W. Foerster, "*Satanas*," TW VII 161; W. Gutbrod, "*Israel*," TW III 384; E. Lohmeyer, Die Offenbarung des Johannes (HNT no. 16, 1953^{2}) 35f.; Schuerer, Geschichte III 14f.; Simon, Verus Israel 104 note 7. When Bauer (Rechtglaeubigkeit 81f.) and Koester ("*Gnomai Diaphoroi*" 310) hold that the "Jews" of Rev. 2:9 and 3:9 are Christians (opponents of John, the author), they appear to be requiring from opponents of "orthodoxy" a uniformity which they correctly deny to its supporters. Note the parallel in the letter to the Ephesian Christians: the "false apostles" whom John attacks (Rev. 2:3) were certainly apostles in their own eyes; it is John who denies them that title -- and the case is the same with the "Jews" and the "synagogue" of 2:9 and 3:9.

"Judaizing" or practicing *Ioudaismos* is attacked only here and in one other of the seven Ignatian letters, that to the

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[1] On the "local" and occasional nature of these letters, Ehrhardt, "Christianity before the Apostles' Creed" 165f. Bauer, Rechtglaeubigkeit 81f., suggests plausibly that the apocalyptic, strongly Jewish(-Christian) piety of John, the author of Revelation, was accepted only over a limited area of western Asia Minor, and found even less support in the Church as the second century progressed.

[2] On these texts, E. Molland, "The Heretics Combatted by Ignatius of Antioch," Journal of Ecclesiastical History 5 (1954) 4-6.

Christians at Magnesia on the Maeander, in Ionia, a few miles inland from Ephesus; in the Magnesian letter, Ioudaismos in 8.1 is resumed in 9.1 with a synonym, "Sabbath-observing," in a contrast between the sabbatizontes and the kata kuriakēn zontes. Here the well-known Jewish practice of Sabbath observance (cf. the Sambatheion, supra, and the deity Sabathikos, infra), often adopted by Gentile sympathizers, is a sufficient identification of Ignatius' opponents; they are the "Sabbath-observers" of Anatolian Christianity, the "Judaizing" Christians (known to the Magnesian church) who "spoke Jesus Christ and 'practiced Judaism' (Ioudaizein)," (Sm 10.3). The opponents of Ignatius insist that observance of the Jewish law must be a part also of the "new Israel," the Church; this would be a seductive position, given the attractiveness of the Jewish law for Gentiles throughout the Diaspora[1] and (much more particularly) the concern for strict rules for personal conduct which is attested for some pagan Philadelphians as early as the first century BC (cf. the discussion of Dionysios' cult and oikos, beginning of this section).

To this point Ignatius has offered no information about the Philadelphia Jews, since those who were demanding "Judaizing" need not have been converted Jews; in Galatians, the only place in the NT where the verb "to Judaize" (Ioudaizein) appears (Gal 2:14), one of the earliest "Judaizers" whom Paul mentions is a Jew, Simon Peter himself (Gal. 2), but the later opponents of Paul among the Galatian Christians are "Judaizers" who may well be Gentiles.[1] Given the Jews known to reside in Philadelphia and the Jews mentioned in the earlier letter there (Rev. 3:7-13), it is probable that there were converted Jews among the local Christians; however, the only point at which that may be indicated in Ignatius' letter is at Phld. 6.1: "It is better to hear Christianismos from someone who has circumcision, than to hear Ioudaismos from someone uncircumcized." Only here does Ignatius use the word "circumcision" (peritome); since he knew the Philadelphia congregation personally, there is perhaps a hint in this text that their congregation was made up of Jews as well as of Gentiles.[2] If that was the situation at the time of the letter in Rev. 3:7-13, it would give a precise explanation of the hostility of the local Jews: Christians arouse their antagonism not just because they are representatives of a new and foreign religion, of Palestinian origin and using the Jews' Bible (these characteristics would have been bad enough) but because they also had made converts among the local synagogue community.

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[1] Schuerer, Geschichte III 172-88; K. Lake, "Proselytes and God-fearers," Beginnings V 74-96; for Rome, Leon, Jews of Ancient Rome 250-56.

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[1] So J. Munck, Paul and the Salvation of Mankind, trans. Frank Clarke (1959) chapter 4; cf. F. V. Filson, "Judaizing," IDB II 1005f. On the noun Ioudaismos in CII 694 and Jewish texts generally, Hengel, "Synagogeninschrift von Stobi" 178-81.

[2] Ignatius also knew the Smyrna Christians personally, and the same kind of tantalizing reference occurs in the letter he addressed to them; in a sentence which contains his only use of the adjective Ioudaios he refers to "all his (Christ's) saints and faithful ones, whether among the Jews or among the Gentiles..." (Sm. 1.2). I assumed for Smyrna (chapter II B ii supra) as I have for Philadelphia that Ignatius may well have met converted Jews in these congregations; this seems a legitimate hypothesis in view of the epigraphical evidence for Jewish residents in the two cities, and in view of the attacks in Revelation.

Of the two pieces of epigraphic evidence cited for Philadelphia Judaism, one is to be rejected: Gregoire's attempt to find the word korban (cf. Mk 7:11) or korbanas (cf. Mt 27:6) in a second century inscription from just north of the city:[1] Νυμφιδία Σωτῆρος ἰσκορβαρία ἐπὶ τὸ θεῖον...ἀνέθηκεν. Among the Anatolian Jewish inscriptions, the presence of a semitic word is unusual, but one clearly appears in a synagogue dedication, CII 754, from a few miles southeast; there however the donor is attempting to describe precisely a certain piece of synagogue furnishing (see infra) and the unfamiliar word must have appeared necessary. However, in Gregoire's reconstriction, korban or korbanas would be the equivalent of the very common εὐχή,[2] so that the need for the less familiar term here is not apparent, particularly when it can be read only by an alteration of the text as given by the original editors, *korbaria* to *korbana*.[1]

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[1] The text is Keil-Premerstein, Dritte Reise, no. 30. Gregoire's article is "Un nouvelle inscription juive. La premiere mention du korban ou korbanas biblique dans l'epigraphie grecque," Bull.Acad.Belg., Lettres 1953, 657-63; on which, see L. Robert, "Bull. épigr." 1955, no. 197. On korban, see the article of K. Rengstorf in TW III 860-66.

[2] So Robert, art. cit. (preceding note).

The other inscription, CII 754, is however clearly Jewish and proves the existence of a synagogue in the Philadelphia area in the third century:

[Τ]ῇ ἁγιοτ[άτῃ σ]υναγωγῇ τῶν Ἑβραίων
Εὐστάθιος ὁ θεοσεβὴς...τὸν μασκαύλην ἀνέθηκα, κτλ.

Eustathios, the donor, has been considered a Gentile converted to Judaism even since an *obiter dictum* of A. Deissmann in the fourth edition of his Licht vom Osten;[2] he makes no explanation for his judgment, but it appeared to be backed up by the traditional understanding of the adjective *theosebes* as designating a Gentile converted to Judaism or, at least, in sympathy with elements of Judaism, e.g. with its moral code.[1] The frequent occurrence of the word in Sardis synagogue inscriptions proves it to be not a technical term for Gentile sympathizers, but simply an adjective ("devout") which had become a conventional designation in Jewish inscriptions, the pagan equivalent often being *eusebes*.[2] At Sardis *theosebes* was also used by Christians; in a text quoted by Eusebius (HE 4.26.5), Melito of Sardis uses τὸ τῶν θεοσεβῶν γένος to mean "Christians." This use of the word would be a bit earlier than the earliest synagogue inscription in which the term occurs.

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[1] The use of *to theion* of a deity (as in this inscription) is not found in the LXX, only infrequently in Philo and Josephus, and once in the NT, Acts 17:29, cf. H. Kleinknecht in TW III 122f.; the word is not used as a substantive in the Apostolic Fathers. Robert has shown, however, that it is not uncommon in Anatolian inscriptions; he postulates a remote, cosmic deity with but this name, "Reliefs... d'Anatolie," 113ff. In most inscriptions the name is in the dative so that the gender is unclear, but in the present inscription it is in accusative with the article and is clearly neuter, affording Robert support not noted by Nilsson, GGR II 577 note 1, who asserts that the word is to be considered masculine, "der Goettliche." If *iskorbaria* be excluded, the inscription gives no indication of Jewish origin, as Robert notes; however, "Jewish" material in Asia Minor may contain nothing obviously Jewish in text or symbol, as the Sardis evidence makes clear: the synagogue apse mosaic with its inscription (BASOR 174 [1964] 30, 32f. and fig. 17) and inscriptions 13-17 published by Robert, Nouvelles Inscriptions 54f. are known to be Jewish only because they were found in the synagogue.

[2] Fourth edition (1923) 392 note 2, followed by G. Bertram, "*theosebes*" TW III 126 note 14. That Deissmann knew that *theosebes* need not mean "Gentile proselyte" (see next note) is clear from his discussion, 391f., of the Miletus theater inscription, CII 748.

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[1] This interpretation was doubtless based on the NT use of the term *sebomenos* (*ton theon*), cf. Bauer, Lexicon 753; though *theosebes* occurs only once in the NT (Jn.9:31, where it is used in neutral fashion and could refer to Jew or Gentile), the meaning of the other, more common term *sebomenos* was apparently transferred to it, cf. Schuerer, Geschichte III 174-77 with note 70.

[2] Examples of *theosebes* at Sardis: Robert, Nouvelles Inscriptions no. 4f. and also inscriptions IN 63.49 and 63.127; cf. Robert 41-44 for a complete discussion of the epigraphical evidence (for *eusebes*, 44). The literary evidence was examined by Feldman, "Jewish 'Sympathizers'," his conclusion being that the words are not technical terms and were applied to Jews as well as to Gentiles. Leon, Jews of Ancient Rome, 253 note 1 adopts Feldman's results. Those who still consider Eustathios of Philadelphia a Gentile include Bickerman, "Altars" 158 note 8 and K. Kuhn and H. Stegemann, "proselyten," RE supp. 9 (1962) 1266. Lifshitz (Donateurs, 25f.) agrees that the Sardis inscriptions refer to Jews, not proselytes; apparently he would say the same for this Philadelphia inscription too, although he does not make an explicit statement to that effect in his discussion of the stone (Donateurs, 31). However, he holds that the term *theosebes* may still have the technical meaning "proselyte" in some cases. For a recent perpetuation of the old explanation, see Frend, Martyrdom 186.

"To the most holy synagogue of the Hebrews"[1] at Philadelphia, Eustathios has given a *maskaules*; the word is an inflected transliteration of the Hebrew משכל meaning "laver" or "washbasin."[2] If Miletus be included, all three of the Anatolian synagogues whose sites are known make provision for the custom of ritual washings: the Miletus building (supra, chapter II A) is equipped with a cistern,[3] and at Priene the large basin (nearly a meter in diameter) discovered there in the last century is still on the site, a few meters from the Torah-niche.[4] The Sardis synagogue's forecourt contains both a large *krater* (perhaps of decorative purpose) and a smaller, rectangular trough-shaped water dispenser for ritual cleansing (infra, chapter IV B vi).[5]

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[1] CII mistranslates, "*Dans* le tres sainte synagogue...," as Robert points out, "Inscriptions...de Sidè" 43 note 4. On the synagogue as a *hagios topos*, Hengel, "Synagogeninschrift von Stobi" 173 note 95.

[2] So, most recently, Lifshitz, Donateurs 31, cf. Keil-Premerstein, Dritte Reise, 33; Krauss, Syn.Alter. 313f.; Bickerman ("Altars" 158 note 58) implies that Eustathios must have been a proselyte because of his use of this transliterated word (non sequitur).

[3] A. v. Gerkan, "Synagoge in Milet," 180.

[4] Goodenough, Symbols II 77; Sukenik, Synagogues 43, fig. 12, shows the basin (unlabeled) in his plan but does not mention it in his description of the building.

[5] BASOR 170 (1963) 46f.; the large *krater* was restored during the 1966 season. Generally on synagogue basins, Robert "Inscriptions ...de Sidè" 43-45.

V

Thus in the area between Pergamum and Philadelphia, six cities yield Jewish evidence, Sardis containing the actual ruins of a synagogue, and fragments of or direct references to synagogue buildings appearing in Pergamum and Philadelphia. The evidence for Sabazios cult and for Jewish communities here is thus equally definite and begins as early as the second or first century BC. Setting aside for the moment the two Sabathikos inscriptions, there is no strong indication of an identification of Sabazios with the God of the Old Testament, surely nothing that suggests a blending of the two in a single cult or within a single holy precinct (supra, section iii). The newer evidence from both religions makes it certain that, for this part of Lydia and Mysia at the least, the older picture of an Anatolian Judaism shading off into Sabazios worship and other syncretisms must be abandoned; that the Thyateira Sambatheion could have contained a half-Jewish, half-pagan cult is quite unlikely. Both Judaism and Sabazios worship were self-conscious and rather powerful here in the Imperial period,[1] excluding the possibility that the stronger religion might have taken over or absorbed the weaker one.

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[1] This is not to suggest that these religions were of the same kind (same organization, cutlus, etc.), but rather that each was aware of its own identity over against other religions, so that unconscious assimilation on a large scale is excluded.

There are few parallels between what is known of the types of organization possible in Sabazios worship, and the structure of the synagogue communities at Sardis and elsewhere; their differences afford another quite practical reason for keeping them separate. Diaspora Judaism requires synagogues for its worship, for its teaching tasks and as centers for its communities; three synagogues are directly attested in the area under discussion. The worship of Sabazios is of a different type, as the literary evidence shows: the *locus classicus*, Demosthenes, *De Cor*. 259f., refers to night-time libations and lustrations and daytime public processions. A mural in the Vincentius tomb in Rome depicts the ritual meal of the cult, but there is no indication that a permanent building was maintained for such ceremonials.[1] The Sambatheion was a structure permanent enough to be used as a topographical marker in the inscription from Thyateira; of the identifications suggested, it is most likely that it was a synagogue.[2]

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[1] On the worship of Sabazios, Nilsson, GGR II 660-67; Eisele, "Sabazios," RL IV 250ff.; on the Vincentius tomb, supra, page 173 note 1.

[2] Schuerer ("Die Prophetin Isabel") raised two secondary objections to this identification: the first was that the inscription contains nothing (other than the word Sambatheion) which would suggest its being Jewish; but see page 188, note 1 supra. The second objection was that a synagogue could not be built on or near the unclean land of a cemetery; but, as Tcherikover points out, "the Sambatheion was not built in the vicinity of the sarcophagus, but the sarcophagus in the vicinity of the Sambatheion, and it is obvious that Jews could not forbid any building work going on beyond the limits of the precincts of the synagogue," CPJ III 46. The Sardis synagogue (BASOR 182 [1966] 40f.), and in Palestine the

Given the situation just described, it is no longer possible to explain the first century BC Sabathikos inscriptions either as a Judaism-Sabazios syncretism. Among the inscriptions of western Asia Minor, the praises of Sabathikos (quoted supra, page 178) would not appear distinctively Jewish. The *megas*-acclamation is frequent in confession inscriptions from this same area, as the following examples from Steinleitner's collection indicate:[1] *Megale Meter Tazene kai Mis Labanas kai Mis Artemidorou*... (Steinleitner no. 1). *Megale Anaetis* (no. 5). *Megas Men Petraeites* (no. 8). *Megas Apollo Leimenos* (no. 25). In his study of ancient acclamation formulae, E. Peterson has shown that this phraseology is a commonplace of "Jewish-Hellenistic *Kleinliteratur*," occurring also outside Asia Minor and in literary as well as epigraphical material.[2] An analogous expression occurs in Acts 19:28, 34 (the setting is Ephesus): the accepted text reads μεγάλη ἡ Ἄρτεμις , but Ramsay has argued that the author intends to duplicate the acclamation pattern which (as the inscriptions now show) was in current use and that the correct

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(continued from preceding page) Beth Shearim synagogue (adjacent to a famed necropolis) and the newly discovered Beth Shan synagogue are all in the vicinity of one or more graves.

[1] Steinleitner, Beicht, cf. Kazarow, "*megas*," RE 15 (1932) 221ff.

[2] Peterson, *Heis Theos* 208, cf. the entire section 196-208.

phrase (now found only in the Bezae text) would be μεγάλη Ἀρτεμις .[1] Similar acclamations with megas appear in the LXX and in the Pseudepigrapha,[2] though the use of eulogetos or doxa is much more common.[3]

In the Sabathikos inscription the phrase ὁ κατέχων τὸν κόσμον, "the one who possesses (or occupies) the universe," is apparently the chief reason for Nock's[4] description of Sabathikos as a "cosmic" deity. These words would be out of place neither in acclamations in praise of a god nor in Greco-Roman magical texts,[5] but there is a striking parallel in the LXX as well; in Isa 40:22 God is described thus:

ὁ κατέχων τὸν γῦρον τῆς γῆς, καὶ οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐν αὐτῇ ὡς ἀκρίδες, ὁ στήσας ὡς καμάραν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ διατείνας ὡς σκηνήν...

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[1] W. Ramsay, The Church in the Roman Empire 139-42, cf. T. Klauser, "Akklamation," RAC I 218f.

[2] LXX texts are printed in W. Grundmann, "megas," TW IV 545; examples from later Jewish literature are listed in Bousset-Gressmann, 312 note 4.

[3] A. Stuiber, "Doxologie," RAC IV 210-12.

[4] Nock, "Gild of Zeus Hypsistos" 63 note 61.

[5] See the index to K. Preisendanz, Papyri Graecae Magicae I (1928), II (1931) s.v. katecho. The TW article on this word (by H. Hanse, TW II 829f.) omits almost all references to pagan texts, making its discussion misleading and much less useful than, e.g. the treatment of the not dissimilar verb synecho by H. Koester, who has included a welcome summary of the uses of the word in pagan religious and philosophical texts (TW VII 875f.).

The *makaroi* mentioned in the Lydian inscription are most probably the (other) gods; as Peterson has shown, the epithets *megas*, *megistos* and *heis* underline the fact that the deity is supreme, rather than that he is the only god to exist.[1] The stress is on Sabathikos as *megistos*; other deities are not delineated, but rather lumped together (as *makaroi*) and passed over.[2]

The single clearly Jewish element in the inscription is the name of the deity; he is the god who is "related to" or "associated with" (cf. the -*ikos* suffix) the Sabbath. Given the Gentile knowledge of and interest in Sabbath-observance (cf. section ii supra), the connection with Judaism would be obvious enough. The dedication includes some imaginative theology or (more accurately) apologetic: the dedicator draws from traditional Hellenistic religious vocabulary[1] to describe his god, then boldly identifies him as "the (well-known) Sabbath-deity," picking up a designation first applied to the Jewish God "from the outside," by those who knew of this deity not from synagogue preaching or from Jewish apologetic literature, but first from the custom of their Jewish neighbors who set aside every seventh day as a holy day. While the evidence of a single text may not be over-emphasized, it is tempting to see this Sabathikos dedication as an attempt to proclaim the Jewish God as the supreme, cosmic deity toward whom pointed the developing monotheism of this particular area and of the period.[2] And in view of the brevity of the text and of the newly proved strength of Judaism in this area, it was surely dangerous to call this inscription an example of Jewish-pagan syncretism, unless Lydian Judaism as a whole is to be called a syncretism; in particular, combination of Judaism with Sabazios worship is not here demonstrable.

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[1] Peterson, *Heis Theos* 268-70, cf. Robert, "Reliefs...d'Anatolie" 128 note 101, who agrees with Peterson's assertion that there is no need to claim Jewish influence or origin for such "monotheism."

[2] Steinleitner, Beicht 76ff. describes the conception of the relation of god to man which is manifest in the confession inscriptions from this area: the deity is awesome, powerful and remote; his worshippers are as nothing before him. Robert adduces a specific example, a Men inscription from nearby Saittai, "Reliefs...d'Anatolie" 127-29, which is also discussed by Peterson, *Heis Theos* 268-70. The results of this indigenous theology appear in the abstract deity *to theion* and in increased interest in angels and intermediate deities, Robert, 112ff., esp. 120-22, and, more generally, Nilsson, GGR II 576-78 and F. Sokolowski, "Sur le culte d'Angelos dans le paganisme grec et romain," HTR 53 (1960) 225-29 (with Nilsson's criticism, GGR II 577 note 1); on angels, see chapter III D viii supra. Though the Sabathikos inscriptions are somewhat earlier than the others here adduced, it may be that the *makaroi* are subordinate, mediating angel-like beings rather than *other* deities. The "monotheism" of the OT and later Judaism does not exclude such references to other divine or semi-divine beings, cf. B. W. Anderson, "God, OT view of," IDB II 247f.; E. Stauffer, "*theos*," TW III 95-100.

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[1] It is customary to refer to the "Jewish" coloring of this text, so Keil-Premerstein, Zweite Reise, 118; Nilsson, GGR II 666; but except for the name of the deity, clearly Jewish elements are impossible to isolate. It is of course true that Peterson derives the entire custom of "acclamation" from the "semitic or Iranian Orient," (Heis Theos 143), but this is far from claiming that the mere presence of an acclamation in the text ties it to Judaism, as Nilsson seems to intend, GGR II 666.

[2] See the many references to Asia Minor and to "Jewish influence" in Nilsson's treatment of the developing "monotheism" of the Imperial period, GGR II 569-78.

Nearly all evidence mentioned thus far in these chapters was available before the Harvard-Cornell expedition began to excavate Sardis in 1958; what was not known before that time was the strength of Lydian Judaism. That began to become clear quickly in 1962 when Sardis excavators chanced upon the Sardis synagogue and began to excavate it.

i

As the capital of the Mermnad dynasty (ca. 700-550 BC), Sardis became a city of recognized economic and political power in advance of the others here discussed,[1] and the first reference to the presence of Jews there is correspondingly early: "exiles of Jerusalem...in Sepharad" are mentioned in Obadiah 20 (sixth-fifth century BC); Sepharad (ספרד) is the city's Aramaic name in an Aramaic-Lydian bilingual epitaph from Sardis (Sardis VI, no. L.17), and the identification now appears certain for the Obadiah text as well, with "such geographical imprecision as remains consist(ing) of whether the reference in the prophecy is to the city...or to the satrapy."[2] The Aramaic text of the bilingual inscription may have been for the benefit of later Jewish settlers in the area, along with descendants of the exiles mentioned in Obadiah; the translation into Aramaic from Lydian is rough, often obscure, often following Lydian syntax mechanically, done by someone with limited understanding of Aramaic. The eight-line epitaph is dated to "the tenth year of King Artaxerxes" (line 1), i.e. 455 BC (if Artaxerxes I) or 394 BC (if Artaxerxes II); it names the owner and his family and concludes with the following curse: "And if anybody against this stele or the cavern or the funerary couches (?) opposite the forecourt of this cavern, that is to say, if anybody destroys or breaks anything, then may Artemis of Koloe and Ephesus with regard to his court, his house, his property, soil and water, and everything that is his disperse him and his heir(s) (sic!)" (lines 4-8, trans. Enno Littmann).[1]

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[1] The history of Sardis has been rehearsed many times, e.g. by Ramsay in Letters, chapter 25, 354-68, and by Buerchner, "Sardeis," RE (2. Reihe) 1 (1920) 2475-78. These earlier treatments are now made obsolete by the findings of the new Harvard-Cornell expedition under Field Director G. M. A. Hanfmann and Associate Director A. Henry Detweiler. Prof. Hanfmann has also produced an indispensible treatment of the site (Sardis und Lydien), which surveys the entire history of the city, tying it into the present topography of ancient Lydia (and Ionia), and including evidence from the 1958 and 1959 campaigns of the present expedition. For a thorough and very readable survey of the finds through 1964, see Prof. Mitten's "A New Look at Ancient Sardis." In the preparation of this section I have had the benefit of using "A Preliminary Bibliography of Sardis" by Hanfmann and M. S. Balmuth. The results of the Butler expedition (1910-14, 1922) were published by The American Society for the Excavation of Sardis under the general title Sardis (1916-32). Annual reports for the present excavations are printed in BASOR, beginning 1959, with the first footnote of each year's article customarily devoted to a bibliography of the year's other publications dealing with Sardis and the excavations.

[2] I. Rabinowitz, "Sepharad / Sardis," Encyclopaedia Biblica (in Hebrew), forthcoming, with full bibliography. The article was made available (in manuscript form) to the Sardis Expedition through the courtesy of the author.

A further influx of Jews occurred under Antiochus III (ruled 223-187 BC), who sent some 2000 Jewish families from Mesopotamia and Babylonia, hoping that their civilized and cooperative ways would help to pacify the rebellious inhabitants of Lydia and Phrygia (Josephus, AJ 12:147-53). It is likely that a number of these families settled in and around Sardis, since all

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[1] Sardis VI.1.23f. The text may be as late as 349 BC, if the Artaxerxes mentioned is the third ruler of that name, cf. M. J. Mellink, "Sepharad," IDB IV 272f.

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were entrusted to the care of Antiochus' governor Zeuxis, who (as might be expected) had his headquarters at the city.[1]

In the first century BC the Jews of Sardis had established themselves firmly enough to claim before a Roman official that "from of old (they) have had their own assembly (in Sardis, governed) by ancestral laws, and their own place (topos), where they (handle) their own affairs and decide their controversies," (Josephus, AJ 14.235); the official named by Josephus, Lukios Antonios, son of Markos, held office in Asia in 48 BC (OGIS 448). The "place" mentioned by the Jews was probably a synagogue, but also the center of the Jewish community, since the text tells of civil and legal activities carried on in it.[2]

In a decree which appears slightly later, the Jews ask that there might be granted a

τόπος αὐτοῖς εἰς ὃν συλλεγόμενοι μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων ἐπιτελῶσι τὰς πατρίους εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας τῷ θεῷ.

(Josephus, AJ 14.260). Bickermann has drawn attention to the word thusiai in this text and suggested that the Jews are in fact asking for "a place for sacrifices to be offered to God by the God-fearing pagans of Sardis," i.e. by "sympathizers" and proselytes.[1] As supporting evidence, Bickermann cites the Kurios-altar at Pergamum (supra, chapter IV A iii end) and the Hypsistos-altar at Saricam, Lydia (supra, chapter III B v); he argues that Jews in the Diaspora must have provided some means of allowing a Gentile adherent to worship the God of the Jews in the familiar way, with sacrifices like those which had formerly been a part of his everyday life. Bickermann is not talking about apostasy on the part of the Jews; they are not giving up the essentials of their faith (they would say), but simply making it possible for a prospective convert to incorporate and comprehend it.[2]

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[1] As shown by a recently published inscription, no. 1 in Robert, Nouvelles Inscriptions 9-21; the Josephus text is discussed on page 12. Zeuxis is also mentioned in a letter of Antiochus III preserved as inscription IN 63.118, 120, cf. BASOR 174 (1964) 34. See also Tcherikover, Hellenistic Civilization 287f.

[2] Krauss, Syn. Alter., 24f. (on topos) and 182ff., 191. The present synagogue site had been used as a cemetery before the rebuilding after the earthquake of AD 17, cf. BASOR 182 (1966) 40f.; the topos in the Josephus text must have been elsewhere in the city.

Bickermann's hypothesis is particularly attractive in regard to Sardis; this city, with its long-established Jewish community, would be a logical place for such missionary activity. However, the thusiai in the Josephus text may not be "sacrifices" but simply

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[1] "Altars" 151. Frend takes this same text (AJ 14.259f.) in an opposite way, claiming it shows the Sardis Jews as "a people apart, with their own customs and religion which admitted little intermingling with their Greek neighbors" (!), Martyrdom 130. The footnote in Frend (note 18) refers to "Josephus, Antiq., 10.23 (259)" but paragraph 259 is found in the fourteenth book of the Antiquities, not in the tenth.

[2] "For a gentile the sacrifice was a part of his everyday life.... Gentiles ready to worship the Most High God...would be bewildered, snubbed, lost to the true faith forever, were they forbidden to offer their sacrifices to God," Bickermann, "Altars" 161.

"offerings."[1] And if they are in fact sacrifices, it is not inconceivable that they were offered by the Jews themselves, perhaps in the same manner and for the same purposes as the sacrifices made in the Temple at Jerusalem; such practices are attested for Jews in the Hellenistic period at at least three locations outside Jerusalem: at Qumran in Palestine, and at Elephantine and Leontopolis in Egypt.[2] No altar has yet appeared in the Sardis synagogue excavations; the altar-like "Eagle Table" (section vi infra) was certainly not used for sacrifices since it is located inside the building and, in addition, bears no marks of burning. Whether the earlier Jewish _topos_ in the city included an altar cannot now be determined on archeological grounds.

A final decree in Josephus (AJ 16:171) forbids interference in the collection of the temple tax for Jerusalem; the name of the proconsul, Gaius Norbanus Flaccus, allows the text to be dated to shortly after 12 BC.[3] To judge from this evidence, the Jews of

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[1] So Ralph Marcus, ad loc. in the Loeb edition, volume 7, page 589, note d.

[2] The evidence for sacrifices at Qumran and Leontopolis is reviewed by S. H. Steckoll, "The Qumran Sect in Relation to the Temple of Leontopolis," RevQumran 6 (1967) 55-69 (plan of Qumran altar, fig. 1, page 57; photograph of altar, plate 1) but his hypothesis of a close connection between Qumran and Leontopolis communities is not convincing. On Qumran, see also Cross, Ancient Library of Qumran 100-03 and John Strugnell, "Flavius Josephus and the Essenes: Antiquities xviii.18-22," JBL 87 (1958) 111-15. On Leontopolis, see also Tcherikover, Hellenistic Civilization 275-81. On Elephantine, Bright, History of Israel 359f., 390-92.

[3] On the date, F. Millar, "The Emperor, the Senate and the Provinces," JRS 56 (1966) 161.

Sardis formed a community of long standing and some influence by the end of the Hellenistic period; their status is attributed to political support of the Seleucids or the Romans, in part because this is something Josephus is stressing throughout, but it may be assumed that they participated in the city's economic and social life and (should Bickermann be correct) influenced some of its religious practices as well.

ii

Christianity doubtless came to Sardis early too, because it was a much-visited city with a Jewish population in the first area outside Syria-Palestine to be reached by the Christian mission; by the end of the first century, when the first literary evidence appears, the congregation had existed long enough that it could be compared (unfavorably) with the church of the past: "You have the reputation of being alive, but you are dead," Rev. 3:1, cf. 2-6. Local Jews are not mentioned, but it may be assumed that the pattern here is not much different from that found in the other towns discussed: some Jews became Christians, a circumstance which aroused the hatred of others.[1]

Sardis is not mentioned in the Apostolic Fathers, but a great deal of information about Jewish-Christian relations in the city in the latter part of the second century is furnished by one text, the Peri Pascha of Melito, bishop of Sardis from ca. AD 160.[1] Before the discovery of the Peri Pascha (published 1940), only a few tantalizing bits of information existed about Melito, chiefly in Eusebius:[2] 1) Melito is described by his younger contemporary, Polycrates of Ephesus, as "Melito the eunuch, who lived entirely in the Holy Spirit, who lies (buried) in Sardis" (HE 5.24.5). 2) As bishop, Melito had addressed an Apology to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius (fragments in HE 4.26.5-11) in which for the first time it is argued that the Empire should support the Church because they began together (in the time of Augustus), prospered when together, and thus belong together: "Our philosophy first grew up among the barbarians, but its full flower came among your nation in the great reign of your ancestor Augustus, and became an omen of good to your empire, for from that time the power of the Romans became great and splendid" (HE 4.26.7). Sherman Johnson has suggested that this apology may have been presented by Melito to the emperor's colleague, Lucius Verus, who passed through Asia in AD 166 and is known to have visited Ephesus; a statue of Verus was erected in the

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[1] On Christianity in Sardis, S. Johnson, "Christianity in Sardis"; Schultze, Staedte II.2 145-56, and the biblical dictionaries.

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[1] Generally on Melito, see the introductions to the Peri Pascha in the editions of Bonner (The Homily) and Perler (Meliton); also, Johnson, "Christianity in Sardis" 83-85 and Quasten, Patrology I 242-48. I use here the Perler text of Melito, citing both section (as divided by Bonner and continued by subsequent editors) and line (as numbered by Perler).

[2] Texts assembled in Perler, Meliton 215-45.

Sardis gymnasium about that time, and an inscription (in Hebrew) may have been put up in his honor in the synagogue as well, increasing the likelihood that Verus' trip included a stop at Sardis.[1]

3) Melito also made a digest of the OT in six books, and claims to have made a trip "to the east...the place where these things were preached and done" in order to get an accurate canon-list; the one he gives (HE 4.26.13), the oldest dated canon-list of the OT known, closely resembles that ratified by the Jews at the "Synod of Jamnia" in Palestine in the last part of the first century.[2]

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[1] Mitten, "A New Look at Ancient Sardis," 62; Johnson, "Christianity in Sardis," 87. The Greek inscription for the Verus statue (IN 58.4) was published by Johnson, BASOR 158 (1960) 7-10, no. 4, cf. Robert, "Bull. épigr." 1962, no. 290. The Hebrew inscription, a fragment, has been studied by Isaac Rabinowitz, who gives the following interpretation: "I believe the letters are to be read בירוס [BYRWS] = Βῆρος = 'Verus'; that, paleographically speaking, the best guess (for of course it can be no more than a guess) would set the date of this inscription at approximately 150-175 A.D.; and that the 'Verus' in question is most probably the co-emperor of this name" (letter of 29 November 1967).

[2] On the canon list, see A. Sundberg, The Old Testament of the Early Church (Harvard Theological Studies no. 20, 1964) 133f. A. D. Nock, "The Apocryphal Gospels," JTS 11 (1960) 63f., note 4, regarded this "journey to the east" as a literary convention only, but Sundberg gives convincing reasons for accepting it, 134 note 13. A. Harvey, "Melito and Jerusalem," JTS 17 (1966) 401-04, has made an ingenious suggestion which might indicate that Melito had visited Jerusalem on such a trip: Harvey points out that in the *Peri Pascha* Melito twice (72:523, 94:712) states that Christ died "in the middle of Jerusalem," while Jn.19:20 and Heb.13:12 put Golgatha, the place of crucifixion, outside the city, cf. K. Clark, "Golgatha," IDB II 439. Harvey suggests that the city had expanded in the century and a half between the Crucifixion and Melito's

4) Melito was a Quartodeciman, as were most Anatolian Christians in the second century; he celebrated Easter on the day of the Jewish Passover (14 Nisan in their calendar) no matter what day of the week it might be. This practice was condemned by the Roman church in particular as "Judaizing," a judgment which was repeated at the Council of Nicea.[1] This extended controversy is of secondary concern here, since it is only beginning when the Peri

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(continued from preceding page) supposed trip, and that both accounts (the NT's and Melito's) are thus right. However, the Hebrews text at least is governed by theological rather than topographical considerations, cf. H. Koester, "Outside the Camp," HTR 55 (1962) 299-315.

[1] The literature on Quartodecimanism is vast, all but a fraction of it on the dogmatic question of the proper understanding of Easter: see Lohse, Passafest, especially 10ff., a summary of the ancient texts; Hilgenfeld, Ketzergeschichte 601-09; H. Leclercq, "Pâques," DACL 13.2 (1938) 1521ff. (on Nicéa, 1541ff.); J. Jeremias, "pascha," TW V 900-03. Important articles: N. Zernov, "Eusebius and the Paschal Controversy at the End of the Second Century," CQR 116 (1933) 24-41, especially note 3, page 38, on the church-political effectiveness of charging one's enemies with "Judaizing"; O. Casel, "Art und Sinn der aeltesten christlichen Osterfeier," Jahrbuch fuer Liturgiewissenschaft 14 (1938) 1-78; C. Richardson, "The Quartodecimans and the Synoptic Chronology," HTR 33 (1940) 177-90, cf. bibliography, 177, note 2; C. Dugmore, "A Note on the Quartodecimans," Studia Patristica IV (1961) 411-21; M. Richard, "La Question Pascale au IIe siecle," L'Orient Syrien 6 (1961) 179-99. Whatever the degree of "Judaizing" in this practice (and that depends greatly on one's definition of the term), a large problem (perhaps the major one) which it raised stemmed from the fact that the Church was less and less comfortable with the idea that the date of a major Christian festival should depend on the Jews' calendar and calculations, cf. Pseudo-Cyprian, De Pascha Computus, tr. G. Ogg (1955), paragraph 1: "we desire to show... that Christians need at no time...walk in blindness and stupidity behind the Jews as though they did not know what was the day of Passover...." (written AD 243).

Pascha was written; it is enough to note that in none of the other evidence for this dispute is it indicated that an anti-Jewish posture is a part of Quartodecimanism. A position favorable toward Judaism is rather to be expected, particularly since a "fast on the Jews' behalf" was a major part of the Quartodeciman celebration.[1]

The Peri Pascha is a Quartodeciman sermon, prepared to be preached at the celebration of the Christian Pascha immediately after the reading of the Jews' traditional Passover text, Exodus 12; the opening line of the sermon indicates this: "The text of the Hebrew 'Exodus' (ἡ γραφὴ τῆς Ἑβραικῆς ἐξόδου) has been read...."[2] The sermon itself has been divided by Perler as follows:[3]

Prologue, 1:1 - 11:72: "an introduction to the typological import of the Passover."

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[1] Lohse, Passafest 62-75.

[2] On the reading of Ex.12 by the Quartodecimans, Lohse, Passafest 75-77. The Sardis excavations may be said to have cleared up one much discussed point about the first line; it had been held that "Hebrew 'Exodus'" meant that the OT text had been read in Hebrew (!) to the congregation just before the sermon, but it seems hardly likely that the Christian congregation in Sardis would read the OT in Hebrew when the Jews in their synagogue inscriptions were using Greek almost exclusively. The discussion of this phrase is summarized by Perler, Meliton 131-33, but the archeological evidence is not mentioned; indeed, Perler's edition (1966) makes no reference to Sardis as a city at all, or to any of the excavations done there.

[3] Perler, Meliton 43f.

I. The Typology of the Jewish Passover, 11:73 - 71:522.

II. Israel's Denial - Denunciations directed at her,
72:523 - 100:766.

Epilogue, 100:767 - 105:823.

Bonner had originally claimed that the style of the Peri Pascha resembles chiefly Jewish texts (the LXX above all), but Wifstrand has produced sufficient parallels from the Second Sophistic, e.g. Maximus of Tyre, to prove that this mainly Anatolian rhetorical movement is the dominant influence; Melito is thus one of the few Christian practitioners of a style which was otherwise in the possession of non-Christian and often anti-Christian sophists.[1]

Melito was thus an awesome figure in the Anatolian church of the latter part of the second century (cf. Polycrates' description of him quoted just above), an accomplished orator in the Asian style, and a creative apologist for Christianity in a city with a powerful Jewish population. None of these characteristics, however, is a sufficient explanation for the fact that a fourth of the Peri Pascha is a blistering attack on the Jews;[1] it occupies Perler's entire second section, but the language of 73:534-80:595 and 93:695-94:726 is the strongest of all:

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[1] Bonner, Homily 27; A. Wifstrand, "The Homily of Melito on the Passion," VC 2 (1948) 201-23. Wifstrand (217f.) understands the first line of the sermon to mean that the Exodus text had been read in Hebrew and suggests that this proves that Melito had been influenced by Diaspora synagogue rhetoric; in Sardis such influence was surely present, but Melito could as well have been exposed to the style of the Second Sophistic by its pagan practitioners, since its "homeland is above all in the cities of Asia Minor: Ephesus, Miletus, Mytelene and Smyrna," K. Gerth, "Die Zweite oder Neue Sophistik," RE Supp. 8 (1956) 719f., cf. 722f. on the characteristics of the Second Sophistic and 727-31 on its hostility to Christianity. W. Hatch's chapter on "Greek and Christian Rhetoric" is still a useful sketch, especially of the penetration of rhetoric into Christian preaching, The Influence of Greek Ideas on Christianity (1888) 86-115. See also, on Melito's style, J. Danielou, Message Évangélique et Culture Hellénistique aux IIe et IIIe Siecles (Bibliothèque de Théologie: Histoire des Doctrines Chrétiennes avant Nicée, II, 1961) 213-16.

> Israel! Why have you committed this new injustice? You dishonored the one who honored you. You scorned the one who glorified you. You denied the one who acknowledged you. You repudiated the one who preached to you. You killed the one who gave you life. Israel! Why did you do this? Was it not written on your behalf: 'Do not spill innocent blood lest you die an evil death'? Israel answers, 'It was I who killed the Lord.' 'But why?' 'Because he had to suffer.' Israel, you deceive yourself when you spin such sophistries about the slaughter of the Lord. He had to suffer, but not at your hands. He had to be abused, but not at your hands. He had to be condemned, but not at your hands. He had to be nailed (to the cross), but not by your right hand...(73:534 - 75:549).

> At night you made everything ready for the murder of the Lord; you prepared for him sharp nails and false witnesses and snares and scourges and vinegar and bile and a sword and oppression, as though for a murderous thief. You laid whips to his body and the crown of thorns on his head; you bound his fine hands which formed you of earth, and that fine mouth of his which gave you life to eat -- you fed it bile and you killed your lord on the great festival...(78:571 - 79:579).

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[1] I am unable to explain how a generation could study the Peri Pascha without calling attention to the implications of this polemic. L. Goppelt, in a book titled (!) Christentum und Judentum im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert (1954) devotes one sentence to Melito, 267. Neither the Bonner nor the Perler editions comment on the polemic. Quasten, Patrology I 243 and Johnson, "Christianity in Sardis" 83 each devote one sentence to Melito's opposition to the Jews.

The "great festival" mentioned also in 93:694 is further described in 93:695 as "the festival of unleavened bread" (ἡ τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτή).

Paragraph 80 which follows the above quotation is an elaborate contrasting of the holiday celebration of the Jews and the sufferings of Christ, occurring simultaneously. Paragraph 93, playing on the idea of the bitter herbs associated with Passover, again lists the "bitter things" done to Christ at the Crucifixion, while paragraph 94 draws the attention of the Gentiles to these horrors of the Jews:

> Listen all you gentile nations! Look! A new murder has taken place in the midst of Jerusalem, a city founded on law, a Hebrew city, a prophets' city, a city thought just...in the middle of the street and city, in the midst of the city with everyone looking on, occurred the just man's unjust death (94:711-16, 724-26).

Quartodeciman practice furnishes no theological motive for such vituperation; few extended texts from this movement still exist outside the *Peri Pascha*, but the basic ones which Lohse studies show no trace of such hostility.[1] Bonner has compared to the *Peri Pascha* a sermon which is based on one preached by the anti-pope and martyr Hippolytos of Rome (ca. AD 170-236); it uses the same text as the *Peri Pascha* and even quotes Ex.12:1-15, 43-49 verbatim in paragraph 5.[1] References to the Jews are bitter, but quite brief, e.g. 24 and 55:2. Although it is an Easter sermon, Easter is dated on 14 Nisan; since both Melito and "pseudo-Hyppolytos" use Exodus 12 as a text, we might expect more correlation than appears between them.

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[1] Lohse, Passafest 10-20. It might be argued that Melito's attitude is only a continuation of the hostility toward "the Jews" in the Gospel of John, since Quartodecimanism is usually considered an example of Johannine influence upon Anatolian Christianity; but then the polemic should appear generally throughout the Quartodeciman texts, and it does not.

Comparison of Melito's homily with contemporary examples of _adversus Judaeos_ literature yields little, since few second-century texts are available; such writings become important and extensive in the third and fourth centuries and later.[2] Of the two major texts extant, Justin's Dialogue with Trypho contains nothing approaching Melito's vehement frontal attack on the Jews, but this could be attributed to Justin's dialogue form, which might make verbal barrages less desirable.[3] In Tertullian's _Adversus Judaeos_, however, attacks comparable to Melito's might be expected; the author is usually most combative, cf. his writings against Gentile pagans, e.g. the second book of the Ad Nationes, AD 197. His Adversus Judaeos, however, is less a personal attack than a battle over the OT, in which (so Tertullian wishes to convince his readers) Jesus is everywhere prefigured; chapter 10, which is concerned with the Passion of Christ, charges the Jews not with murdering him (as does Melito when dealing with the same topic) but with hardness of heart in refusing to accept Tertullian's presentation of OT predictions about the crucifixion! On comparison, Melito's homily appears directed against flesh-and-blood Jews, Tertullian's treatise against shadow-figures, theological abstractions.[1]

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[1] Bonner, Homily 57-62, cf. Quasten, Patrology II 178f. and the edition of P. Nautin, Homélies Pascales I (Sources chrétiennes, no. 27, 1950), who dates the extant sermon based on Hippolytus to the fourth century or a bit later, 47.

[2] See the traditional list in Juster, Juifs I 54ff. Lost works of this type from the second century include the Discussion between Jason and Papiscus, by Aristo of Pella (Quasten, Patrology I 195f.; Williams, Adversus Judaeos 28-30) and two Anatolian writings titled Against the Jews, one by Miltiades, the other by Apollinaris of Hierapolis, Phrygia (Quasten, Patrology I 228f.). The anti-Jewish addition to Fourth Ezra (the so-called "Fifth Ezra") perhaps also belong here, but since it is attributed to the OT Ezra, direct references to Jewish-Christian controversies are not to be expected; see translation in Hennecke, Apocrypha II 691-95 with an introduction by H. Duensing, who dates the text ca. AD 200 (689).

[3] As Justin sets up the discussion, extended acrimony is out of place, cf. Harnack (Judentum und Judenchristentum), who states that Justin gives the impression that "the whole battle between Judaism and Christianity" is a contest of Biblical scholars (55f.) and

If, as it appears, neither Quartodeciman theology nor the conventions of adversus Judaeos literature are behind Melito's attacks, they are perhaps to be explained by the situation in Sardis

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(continued from preceding page) concludes that "in reality the Dialogue with Trypho is a monologue by the victor, with the opponent speaking not for himself, but as Justin wishes him to speak" (92). Harnack's opinion that such Jewish-Christian dialogues are artificial (with the Jew taking the role of advocatus diaboli) is contested by Simon, Verus Israel 167ff., but see the following note.

[1] It is true that the last chapters of the Adversus Judaeos are excerpted from the third book of his Adversus Marcionem and appended to the first writing by someone other than Tertullian (cf. Quasten, Patrology II 268f.), but this only tends to support Harnack's point (see preceding note). If arguments against the anti-Jewish Marcion can be turned into attacks on the Jews, the Jews in this text are literary targets rather than real and vivid opponents (cf. Simon, Verus Israel 169).

itself, and by Melito's conception of the relation of the Church to the Roman Empire. The fragment of his Apology to Marcus Aurelius shows that Melito initiated a new line of reasoning in second-century apologetic: the Empire should support and protect the Church because they were begun at the same time, and the state has prospered since, cf. the text quoted at the beginning of this section, HE 4.26.7. But in Sardis this approach means a direct conflict with the Jews, who had long claimed a privileged position with the state (see the Josephus texts quoted in section i supra); Melito may be taking the offensive against the Jews when he writes to the Emperor, "Our philosophy first grew up among the barbarians (the Jews?) but its full flower came among your nation," Rome (HE 4.26.7).

If Verus did in fact visit Sardis ca. AD 166, and if Melito did present him with a copy of the Apology at that time, and if the Jews also honored Verus with an inscription in Hebrew, then the elements of a vigorous Jewish-Christian conflict are all present at the time of that visit, a likely occasion for the writing of the Peri Pascha as well. Such a precise and elaborate hypothesis is not required for the main point however, since the size of the Jewish community and its political power are well attested; it seems quite likely that there is a socio-political motivation, more than a theological one, in Melito's attack.

At the same time there are striking parallels of vocabulary between Melito and the Jews: in the Peri Pascha the word laos is used seventeen times, all but once (62:449, quoting Ps. 2:1) to mean "the Jews"; the word has the same meaning in a statement of Polycrates of Ephesus (apud Eusebius, HE 5.24.6) who supports his Quartodeciman position by claiming that his Christian ancestors always celebrated "the day when the laos (i.e. the Jews) put away the leaven."[1] This passage and Melito's use of laos suggest that this meaning of the term persisted in Anatolian Christianity in opposition to the general trend in the post-apostolic period, in which increasingly laos stands for the Christian congregation or Church.[2] The word has not yet been found in any of the Sardis inscriptions, but it is a common designation for a synagogue (-community) in the Jewish inscriptions from elsewhere (cf. chapter II B iv and III D iii supra); as such it is a likely restoration for the damaged inscription IN 64.1 from SynWest, eulogeto(s ho laos), as Robert has suggested.[3] Melito also uses the phrase pantokrator theos (45:322) which occurs in the "Regina" inscription, one of the earliest from the synagogue, dated by Robert to "the early third century AD, if not slightly earlier."[1]

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[1] The Eusebius concordance (Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller 9.3 [1909] 186), while it gives only a selection of occurrences, lists only three authors who use laos of the Jews: Hegesippus (a converted Jew), Irenaeus and Polycrates, both representatives of second-century Anatolian Christianity.

[2] H. Strathmann, "laos," TW IV 50-57 and Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon, 792f.

[3] In his oral comment on the text, as noted in the Sardis expedition's records of the inscription, but cf. BASOR 177 (1965) 26.

Finally, in the fragment of his Apology (apud Eusebius, HE 4.26.5) Melito calls Christians τὸ τῶν θεοσεβῶν γένος, using the adjective *theosebes*, the favorite self-designation of Sardis Jews, to judge from their inscriptions.[2] The context in Eusebius is instructive: "It has never before happened as it is now that *the race of the religious* (*theosebeis*) should be persecuted and driven about by new decrees throughout Asia." Melito's wording all but demands that this term be applied to Christians exclusively, no matter how widespread its Jewish use.

Such coincidences in vocabulary may be only by chance or, in the case of *laos*, the influence of the LXX, but *theosebes* is not a common adjective and its use is widespread among the Jews, the Gentile equivalent being *eusebes*; if its use by Melito is not by chance, then it becomes specific proof of something which was to be expected in any case: the Christian congregation has some familiarity with the Jews whom Melito so strongly attacks. It may be presumed that some of the Sardis Christians were converted Jews or descendants of converted Jews, and that the relation of Christianity to Judaism was a perennial issue in the community.

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[1] Robert, Nouvelles Inscriptions 48-50, no. 7 = Kroll no. 14, whence the quotation.

[2] Robert, Nouvelles Inscriptions 41-45, cf. chapter II A i supra.

The Jews' attitude might have been one of openness or one of hostility against "apostates"; in either case, in the face of such a large and powerful Jewish community Melito was forced to adopt the stance demonstrated in the *Peri Pascha*. Additional pressure to take such a position would come from the fact that (as a Quartodeciman) he was liable to the charge that Sardis Christianity was little different from Judaism; the usual Quartodeciman *Pascha* with its fasts for the Jews was particularly vulnerable here, whether the charge was made by non-Quartodeciman Christians[1] or (as was quite likely in Sardis) by Jews eager to dissuade possible "apostates." The *Peri Pascha* is then a strong attempt on Melito's part to establish and preserve the identity of Sardis Christianity over against the Jews while retaining the Quartodeciman practice almost universal in the Anatolian Christianity of his time.

It is possible to be still a bit more specific about Jewish-Christian relations in Sardis. In Smyrna the Jews' friendliness may have prompted them to offer persecuted Christians the shelter of their synagogues (discussed supra, chapter II B iii), but in Sardis the Jews appear to have been hostile; this is not immediately demonstrable from the *Peri Pascha*, but from two other circumstances to which allusion has already been made: 1) When Melito argues (in his Apology) for the solidarity of the Empire with the Church, he is perhaps seeking to appropriate the "special relationship" which the Sardis Jews had enjoyed with the Romans; surely he threatens that relationship, and he is the first to make use of this approach in Christian apologetics. This would surely prompt direct confrontation of Jewish and Christian claims if 2) Verus did in fact visit Sardis ca. AD 166, receiving Melito's Apology from the author in person and being courted also by the Jews, anxious to retain the Empire's support.

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[1] References on page 206, note 1 supra.

Such strife between hostile elements of the Sardis population is attested also in the letters ascribed to Apollonius of Tyana which, because of their doubtful authenticity, are to be used as evidence for the reputation of Sardis in the second-third century rather than of Apollonius' lifetime. For example, letter 56: "You, in your relations with your parents, your children, your friends, kinsmen and tribesmen, evince nothing but truceless, implacable, irreconcilable hatred, and worse than this, unholy and godless frenzy." Letter 75 in its attack refers to the famous lion of Sardis: "Well I would like to know what sort of lion you have put your trust in, that you should have embraced this truceless war among yourselves, children and youths all alike, full-grown men and aged, nay even maidens and women," cf. letter 76: "only faction...is crueler than war." Letters 38-41 are also depreciating, 38 mentioning in passing that "of the people there, no one is the friend of another."

If such statements reflect anything of the true situation in Sardis in the time of Melito, his conduct with the Jews would appear to many outsiders as just another example of civil strife.[1] In any case, the new information about Sardis and the powerful Jewish community there also furnishes a quite likely explanation for the attacks on the Jews in the Peri Pascha.[2]

iii

The status of certain members of this community can be immediately determined from the over eighty Jewish inscriptions, more than have been found in all the rest of Asia Minor. In Kroll's catalogue of these texts, three men identify themselves with the title Sardianos, three others use the title bouleutes and six more are able to use both; these men and others also have the informative name Aur(elios). The figures would doubtless increase if the inscriptions were in all cases complete and intact.[3]

All these men were citizens of the city, as their titles indicate; they were also Roman citizens, due to the Constitutio antoniniana, Caracalla's grant of citizenship to all free inhabitants of the Empire in AD 212. The fact that they took the name Aurelios indicates that they probably did not hold the citizenship before that date, since it is precisely those who received it from Caracalla who adopted his family name "Aurelios."[1]

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[1] On Apollonius' letters, Christ-Schmid-Staehlin II 381-83; the translation used here is that of F. Conybeare, Loeb ed. For an example from Philostratus' Life of Apollonius in which Apollonius is confronted with Anatolian civil strife, see I.15. Much other evidence for such unrest has been discovered, cf. Broughton, "Economic Survey" 809-12 (Sardis, 811).

[2] At a number of points Melito's reaction resembles that of Chrysostom in Antioch two centuries later, cf. Parkes, Conflict 163-66.

[3] See J. Kroll's final report, 1966, 6f. (Sardis Expedition files, unpublished).

The city councilors (bouleutai) would be men of substance, economic and social powers as well as political leaders. Under the Empire the city boule had grown to resemble the Roman senate; members were from the wealthier and better educated class, membership tended to be for life.[2] The impression is that certain Jewish families had been in Sardis a long time and accumulated power and status by the beginning of the third century; not surprisingly, their monuments lack the ungrammatical braggadocio of CII 760 and 770, epitaphs of two mid-third century Jewish city officials from Acmonia (supra, chapter III B i end).

In addition to these local office-holders, three men mentioned in the Jewish inscriptions belong to the provincial administration of the Roman government: two record-office functionaries and a former procurator. All three are part of the expanding bureaucracy of the later Empire; they are Sardis natives in all probability, rather than professional civil servants brought in from elsewhere. The procurator in particular, as an imperial agent, would have been a powerful man, able to reach the ear of higher provincial officials; such a person could have been a dangerous antagonist to the small group of Christians under Melito, as well as a great help to the Jewish community in local conflicts like those Josephus and "Apollonius" describe.[1]

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[1] Robert, Nouvelles Inscriptions 40. On the Constitutio antoniniana, A. Sherwin-White, The Roman Citizenship (1939) 216-27 and (for an exhaustive bibliography) C. Sasse, Die Constitutio Antoniniana (1958) 129-43. Leon, Jews of Ancient Rome 119 note 3, considers this explanation of the Jewish use of the name Aurelios to be "improbable," but see Robert, Nouvelles Inscriptions 40 note 1, and Juster, Juifs II 221.

[2] So G. Bowersock, Augustus and the Greek World (1965) 87f.; Magie, Roman Rule 639ff. The example of these Sardis Jews calls into question the extreme statement of Sherwin-White, op. cit. (preceding note) 255 about the "intransigence" of the Empire's Jews who "could not come within the (Roman) civitas because they would not."

The immediate forebears of these Jews doubtless held similar offices in the second century, though perhaps in fewer numbers; at any rate, their status does not seem to have been jeopardized by the frequent revolts of Palestinian Jews. The Antonines apparently did not consider the Jewish population of the Empire monolithic; at least, they did not punish the Anatolian Diaspora for rebellions elsewhere, so far as we know (supra, chapter II B ii end). Considering the age, prestige and apparent stability of these Anatolian Jewish communities, it may well be that they were valued by the government as loyal and steadying influences in a period of increasing turmoil; thus they would serve the same function as the

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[1] Kroll, Preliminary Catalogue, page 3, and final report, 1966 (Sardis Expedition files, unpublished), 7, quoting the explanation of Louis Robert (from his letter of 16 August 1966); cf. Magie, Roman Rule 1426f. on the boethoi, and 566-69, 627f. (with notes) on the procurator and his increasing importance in the later Empire.

2000 Jewish families brought into Lydia and Phrygia four centuries earlier (discussed supra, section i).

The religious observances connected with citizenship and office-holding and the religious implications of the Constitutio antoniniana with its references to the gods of the state[1] apparently were not considered by these Jews to be a danger to their religion, since references to citizenship and office-holding are included in inscriptions from the main hall of the synagogue itself, and neither city nor provincial officials are excluded as "apostates"; they are honored members of the community. There is indication that Caracalla and the other Severi, the so-called "Syrian emperors," were not unsympathetic to Judaism, although it is difficult to separate the evidence for this from that which attests to a general inclination for religious syncretism in their reigns;[2] their support could well have been felt and reciprocated by provincial Jews as well as by the Jews of Rome.

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[1] Ramsay frequently maintained (e.g. Letters 146ff.) that the religious observances connected with citizenship in a polis kept Diaspora Jews from becoming full citizens in the usual manner. On the religious implications of the Constitutio antoniniana, J. Vogt, "Zur Religiositaet der Christenverfolger im Roemischen Reich," SBHeidelberg 1962.1, p. 17f.

[2] See Frend, Martyrdom 304ff. on the mixing of cults in this period. On the "Syrian emperors" and the Jews, Leon, Jews of Ancient Rome 43f. (who places too much trust in the accuracy of the Historia Augusta account); J. Straub, "Caracalla," RAC II 900; and L. Ginzberg, "Antoninus in the Talmud" JE 1 (1901) 656f. on the Roman emperor, "son of Severus," who is mentioned in glowing terms in the Talmud.

iv

A religious official is mentioned in only one synagogue inscription, the late (fourth century?) IN 66.3, recording the fulfillment of a vow by a *hiereus* and σοφοδιδάσκαλος . The first title is attested in the inscriptions, both in Palestine and in the Diaspora, but the only other Anatolian example is from Ephesus, CII 746 as reedited by Robert (discussed supra, chapter II C i); the precise function of a priest in a Jewish community after the Temple's destruction and far from the only Temple-site, Jerusalem, is not completely clear, but Leon has suggested that "they had a minor part in the cult, especially that of pronouncing certain benedictions."[1]

IN 66.3 does give a definite occupation for this priest; he is a *sophodidaskalos*. The word is apparently a *hapax legomenon*, but the combination is not an unnatural one, witness two non-Jewish Anatolian texts: The first is the epitaph of a teacher from Phrygia who calls himself ὁ σοφίης διδάσκαλος and then ὁ ἱ[ρᾶς] σοφίης διδάσκαλος. He is probably newly Christian, but his "holy wisdom" is "half-theological, half-astronomical speculation" and, as he says specifically, he is a public school teacher (i.e. not a teacher of Christianity).[1] In MAMA VIII 132 (late fourth century) an encratite Christian bishop describes himself as a didaskalos of heavenly dogma and a wise (sophos) judge as well. Didaskalos lent itself to combination with qualifying words, thus nomodidaskalos, kalodidaskalos, pseudodidaskalos and ethelodidaskalos were all coined by early Christian authors; they do not appear outside Christian texts.[2]

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[1] Leon, Jews of Ancient Rome 192. Lifshitz agrees, "Fonctions" 63 and lists examples of the use of the word in inscriptions from outside Asia Minor. A few inscriptions indicate that the title was used by men who did not claim Aaronic descent, cf. Goodenough, Symbols XII 124 note 1. The rules of the tightly-organized and withdrawn Qumran community required a priest as leader for every ten men, i.e. the priests lead the congregation, cf. Ringgren, Faith of Qumran 205, cf. 203ff. The Sardis situation is not analogous, however, since here the Jewish community is socially and economically mixed in with the much larger Gentile population of the city.

The simplex didaskalos is infrequent in Jewish inscriptions and occurs only twice in the LXX, Est.6:1 and 2 Macc.1:10; in the LXX the usual term for "teacher" is simply sophos (translating חכם in nearly all cases), but the Jewish use of didaskalos is attested in CII 1266, on an ossuary from Jerusalem dated to the first half of the first century AD, before the destruction of the Temple.[3] The combination of sophos and didaskalos in the Sardis inscription is thus not a surprising one, and may occur again in Jewish inscriptions yet to be found.

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[1] Text published and annotated by J. Frazer, "Inheritance by Adoption and Marriage in Phrygia..." in Ramsay, Studies 137-42, no. 1.

[2] So K. H. Rengstorf, "didaskalos," TW II 159f., cf. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon, s.vv.

[3] Rengstorf, art. cit. (preceding note) 151; Lifshitz, "Fonctions," 62f. Regarding CII 1266, cf. CII 1268f. and W. F. Albright, "Recent Discoveries in Palestine and the Gospel of St. John," in The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology (C. H. Dodd Festschrift) ed. W. D. Davies and D. Daube (1956) 157f.

The Sardis *sophodidaskalos* must have been the teacher for the Jewish community; this would be the implication of his title both in the Greek-speaking Gentile culture of the time and in contemporary Judaism, indeed the title may have been coined for its double meaning. *Didaskalos* already in classical Greek has the technical meaning "master of Instruction,"[1] while *sophos* increases in attractiveness as a title of honor in the Hellenistic period and later.[2] At the same time, *sophos* (חכם) in both in Hellenistic and in rabbinic Judaism recalls the figure of the "wise man," the teacher, (frequently) the rabbi.[3] *Didaskalos*, though perhaps deliberately avoided in the LXX, is the logical equivalent of "rabbi" in the Palestine of the early Imperial period; thus, where Jesus is addressed as *didaskalos* in the Gospels, the designation was probably רבי in the earlier, oral accounts.[4] The Sardis *hiereus* and *sophodidaskalos* thus bears exceedingly potent titles, which recall major figures in later Judaism, the

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[1] K. H. Rengstorf, "*didaskalos*," TW II 148, cf. 150 on the contrast between Socrates who refused the title and Epictetus who welcomed it.

[2] On the Stoic ideal of the "wise man," Max Pohlenz, Die Stoa: Geschichte einer geistigen Bewegung I (1964^{3}) 153-58; generally, see the survey of Ulrich Wilckens, "*sophia*," TW VII 472-75.

[3] On the "wise man" in Judaism, U. Wilckens, "*sophia*," TW VII 498ff.; on the "wisdom" tradition and "wisdom literature" in late Judaism, S. H. Blank, "Wisdom," IDB IV 852-61.

[4] On the infrequency of *didaskalos* in the LXX, K. H. Rengstorf, s.v., TW II 151, and on the implications of the title as applied to Jesus, 153-57.

"priest" and the "wise teacher," but would be understood and honored in Anatolian Gentile circles as well.

The name of this important personage is only partially preserved in the inscription; its last two letters were -οη , and judging from the area of mosaic missing, two, perhaps three letters have been lost. The important point here is that the lost name was probably not Latin or Greek, but Semitic, a rarity at Sardis.[1]

In Anatolian Judaism we would not expect a rabbinical school or such a collection of scholars as is presupposed in rabbinic literature; this *sophodidaskalos* must have been the teacher-scholar for the community, perhaps for an extended period in ca. the fourth century. The prestigious location of the inscription, squarely in the middle of the main hall of the synagogue, indicates that he was a man of substantial importance in the community.

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[1] Kroll's provisional prosopography lists one Samuel (with the *signum* Ioulianos), in his inscription no. 5, Kroll, Final Report (Sardis Expedition files, unpublished) 6. A Jacob has given his name to shop SE-14, against the south wall of the synagogue; the name was found as a graffito on a jar from this shop, BASOR 170 (1963) 50 and figure 28, and a second example appeared in shop SE-7, the "Shop of the Finial," during the 1967 campaign (G. M. A. Hanfmann, letter of 30 September 1967). Two other names might be mentioned: Sabbatios, found on a sherd from shop SE-13, "Sabbatios' Shop," BASOR 170 (1963) 50 and figure 28 (but this name, though of Jewish origin, has been Grecized with an -*ios* ending). "Getiores," in CII 750 (= Sardis VII, no. 187); this is a reading of an inscription of ca. the sixth century AD, the name of a Jewish woman according to the text (*Hebrea*), but its exact form is unclear (the first editor wrote "Ge Tiores"), cf. Robert, Nouvelles Inscriptions 38.

V

The sophodidaskalos inscription suggests something further and not unexpected: a school was a part of this complex;[1] the most likely location for classes is the main hall of the synagogue itself. None of the adjacent rooms so far excavated would be suitable for a school room (see the discussion infra, section viii). Henry Detweiler is almost certainly correct in assuming that the synagogue began in the first century AD as a civic basilica and was turned over to the powerful Jewish community in the second century;[2] in such circumstances, the Jews would in effect be forced to carry on most or all of their community functions, including teaching, within this single building. The surrounding area was already taken up by the gymnasium and the other public buildings which would front on a major thoroughfare; no expansion was possible. Synagogues were commonly used by the Jews as community-buildings elsewhere, e.g. as law courts, and for social and even political gatherings as well as for schools;[3] such multiple use for the Sardis building would not be unusual, and surely not difficult, in view of the great size of its main hall.

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[1] On the synagogue as a school, I. Sonne, "Synagogue," IDB IV 487; K. Rengstorf, "didaskalos," TW II 148-51; Moore, Judaism I 308-22.

[2] See BASOR 187 (1967) 23-25.

[3] Krauss, Syn. Alter. 182-98; I. Sonne, "Synagogue," IDB IV 490f. Goodenough has already compared the Sardis synagogue to the great Diplostoon at Alexandria, which was used for religious services, but perhaps also as a hiring hall for Jewish tradesmen, Symbols XII 191-93.

vi

The other furnishings in the main hall show how the Jews frequently took over materials from Gentile sources and made use of them with but slight reworking. A "circular monument" from the late Hellenistic period "with attached Corinthian columns and complete architrave" was found standing just east of N-6, the western-most pier on the north side of the main hall;[1] 1.3 meters high, it has been re-used as a support of some kind, perhaps for a lamp or a menorah.

To judge from its position before the great apse, and centered between the western-most pair of piers, the Eagle Table itself served as the lectern and focus of worship for the service; its top, a slab of marble .33 meters thick, 2.43 meters wide and 1.225 meters deep, is decorated with a molding which shows it to be of the Augustan period. The top is supported by "gigantic eagles in high relief, their wings outspread, and their talons gripping a bundle of rods, perhaps originally the _fulmen_ or thunderbolt of Zeus."[2]

According to one reconstruction, the table was flanked by the two pairs of stone lions (sixth century BC or somewhat later) which were found near it.[1] Since one inscription identifies its donor as a member of the phyle Leontion, it appears that the Jews had also taken over a traditional Sardian motif and combined it with one from the OT; the lion appears very frequently on Lydian coinage from the seventh-sixth century BC on, often as the animal sacred to Kybele.[2] Herodotos tells that King Meles of Sardis once carried a lion around the walls of the acropolis to guarantee the impregnability of the fortress (1.84), and also that Croesus once presented to the Delphic oracle the image of a lion, made of ten talents' weight of fine gold (1.50). The importance of the lion in Jewish art and literary texts has been set out in full by Goodenough in a section wherein he argues for non-Jewish origins for the symbol; this has been challenged, but it is certain that in Sardis at least the non-Jewish use of the lion-symbol is prior, and also that the Jews made frequent use of it in synagogue decorations.[3]

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[1] D. Mitten, Final Report 1963, 15 (Sardis Expedition files, unpublished); disintegrating when found, it was moved to the main compound and restored during the 1966 season.

[2] BASOR 174 (1964) 34-36.

This being the case, it is probable that the phyle which called itself Leontioi (lion-men, or men of the lion) was attempting to manipulate local Anatolian traditions just as the Jews of Apameia, Phrygia, are known to have done, and at about the same time. In Apameia, a local flood tradition was combined with the Noah-story from the OT; Apameia coins with Noah's name and "ark" on them are the result, and if (as is probable) the scenes on the coins reproduce a larger painting or frieze on public display, the entire population of Apameia, Gentile and Jew, had before it a visual reminder of the combination of these two traditions, one Anatolian, one Jewish (see the discussion, chapter III C ii supra). The OT "lion of Judah" and the lion of King Meles of Sardis are of course not the same, and the Jews and Gentiles of Sardis doubtless knew that, but such reinterpretations of inherited tradition are characteristic of the Greco-Roman world, particularly when both sides involved are anxious to make the connection. The Sardis excavations have yielded many examples of architectural connections and juxtapositions between Jew and Gentile in this city; the intertwining of traditions and mythologies should not be surprising. Robert holds that the phyle Leontion is "a tribe not of the city of Sardis, but of the Jewish community";[1] this is probably correct, but the name itself was chosen for external reasons primarily, to demonstrate to the people of Sardis this "link" between the Jews and the city's past.

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[1] See Goodenough, Symbols XII 194, figure 4.

[2] Examples in Head, Coins of Lydia, 1ff., cf. the index of types, 391f.

[3] Goodenough, Symbols VII 78-86, cf. his discussion of the Gentile evidence, 29-78 and his later summary of the whole matter, XII 133-36. The criticisms are summarized by M. Smith, "Goodenough's Jewish Symbols in Retrospect," JBL 86 (1967) 59. Other lions in the synagogue decorations, BASOR 170 (1963) 46 and 49, fig. 34.

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[1] Nouvelles Inscriptions 46.

230

Other parts of the synagogue interior are also of Gentile origin. The great apse was a part of the original building, though the apse-mosaic and the three reveted benches rising above it are Jewish. The mosaic lacks obvious Jewish symbolism; its design of a vase (krater) with vines and peacocks is common also in Christian art[1] and the dedicatory text is so brief and the names so common that it would be impossible to identify it as Jewish had it not come from a Jewish building: "The Flavians, Stratoneikianos and Symphoros, because of a vow."

This propensity to "make do" with materials and motifs not distinctly Jewish is also evident in the two aediculae which dominated the east end of the main hall (NS and SS on the plan at the end of this chapter); they are not part of the original structure, but were added later, yet their design and workmanship suggests the later Hellenistic period.[2] Their addition is probably to be explained by a similar feature in the synagogue at Ostia, discovered in 1961; there a Torah shrine was added to the east wall in the third-fourth century AD, blocking up the southern-most of the three entrances to the main hall.[1] A number of synagogues of this period evidence this desire to add a permanent, impressive receptacle for the Torah,[2] but the result at Ostia is an awkward, lopsided appearance for the entire main hall. If one of the *aediculae* at Sardis is a Torah shrine,[3] the most likely explanation thus far offered, it appears that a second structure was added for purposes of symmetry (in all a much more pleasing effect than Ostia's); it is thus mainly decorative, in all probability. Like the great "Eagle Table" it is unparalleled in other synagogues, but the Eagle Table itself and the many other reused Gentile elements in the building all make it evident that the Sardis Jewish community did not feel itself bound by all the conventions of synagogue construction. Parallels to the second *aedicula* or theological justifications for it should not be demanded. What it might have contained is not at all clear, but it probably did not hold a *kathedra* or "Seat of Moses," such as is found in synagogues both in Palestine and in the Diaspora.[1] The benches in the apse are surely the seats of honor in this instance. A freestanding menorah is one possibility, particularly since this was a popular symbol for Sardis Jews and many examples have been found.[2]

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[1] On the apse, BASOR 174 (1964) 30-33 and fig. 35; Goodenough, Symbols XII 193, cf. the mosaic from the African synagogue at Hamman Lif, III 887f. The peacocks at Sardis were later gouged out of the mosaic, an iconoclasm known from other synagogues, cf. Sukenik, Synagogues 88, index s.v. "iconoclasm."

[2] On the shield design of their pediments, see BASOR 186 (1967) 27 note 4. G. M. A. Hanfmann has suggested tentatively that "the entire ensemble may really be re-used Hellenistic" (letter of 30 September 1967).

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[1] See the plan in Wischnitzer, Architecture of the European Synagogue 6, figure 3, cf. her discussion of the building, 5-7. The excavator, Dr. Maria Squarciapino, has published her account as well, "The Synagogue of Ostia," Archeology 16 (1963) 194-203.

[2] Earlier, the Torah had been kept in a portable chest, cf. Sukenik, Synagogues 52f.; I Sonne, "Synagogue," IDB IV 485.

[3] On the Torah Shrine, see the summary discussion and bibliography in K. Galling, "Erwaegungen zur antiken Synagoge," ZDPV 72 (1956) 169-76. Also Strack-Billerbeck IV.1 137-39 (rabbinic texts); Krauss, Syn. Alter. 364-76; Sukenik, Synagogues 52f.; I. Sonne, "Synagogue," IDB IV 487f.

The puzzling third-century inscription IN 63.77 was probably located somewhere in the interior of the synagogue originally, but its use and its meaning are still not wholly clear; neatly set on a small plaque and within a *tabula* *ansata*, it reads εὕρων, κλάσας ἀνάγνωθε, φύλαξον. Asyndeton with imperatives is not unexampled,[3] and the meaning of the two imperatives is clear enough: "read (it) aloud (and) follow (what you read)."[4] These verbs imply that the plaque was part of something to do with the Torah (the Torah shrine? the Eagle Table as lectern?);[5] if so, *heuron* probably means "find (the text in preparation for reading)." *Klasas*, from *klao*, "break," perhaps means here "open," i.e. *open* the Torah scroll, *find* the text, etc., but this is a strained translation for which I find no parallel;[1] and unfortunately, until this participle is explained, the exact use of the plaque must remain a mystery.

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[1] Sukenik, Synagogues 57-61; Goodenough, Symbols II 74, 91.

[2] Made of various materials, see BASOR 174 (1964) 36, 38; in the Kroll catalogue of synagogue inscriptions, no. 55f. (the "menorah medallions") and 25, (recording the gift of a *heptamyxion*, i.e. a menorah).

[3] F. Blass and A. Debrunner, A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, trans. R. W. Funk (1961) 241.

[4] See Bauer, Lexicon, s.v.; the meaning "follow, observe" (laws, commandments) is a common one for *phylasso* in the LXX.

[5] So Louis Robert, in a 1966 letter in Sardis Expedition files.

vii

The significance of the inner equipment and design of the building notwithstanding, the swiftest way to gauge the importance of the Jewish community is to glance at a plan which shows the entire main section of the Roman city, including the Marble Court, Building B and the House of Bronzes;[2] such a city plan shows that by the end of the second century AD the Jewish community was on "Main Street" in Sardis, in a structure of standard Roman or Anatolian-Roman design which was an integral part of a gymnasium-shops-palaestra complex, a social center of the city.

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[1] *Klao* in the NT refers only to the breaking of bread, often in connection with the Eucharist; this remains its prime meaning in later Christian Greek as well (Bauer, Lexicon, s.v.; Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon, s.v.). But assuming that a Jewish text of the third-fourth century AD need not contain this Christian technical term, and assuming at the same time that a development from classical usage has occurred, the verb might have something to do with public reading or speaking: "modulate," even "intone." In classical Greek *klao* is sometimes used of the voice, "break" or "crack"; the noun *klasis* already has the meaning "modulation" in the classical period and is used in Philo Alexandrinus in connection with the noun *phone* in all three examples listed in Leisegang's index s.v., Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae supersunt, edd. L. Cohn et P. Wendland, VII (1926). The texts from Philo are Sac. 23, Post. 106, Immut. 25.

[2] See provisionally BASOR 177 (1965) 11, fig. 10; a copy of the city plan for all of Sardis (which was near completion at the end of the 1966 season) has not yet been published.

The basilica-like main hall becomes firm proof of what was only indirectly attested previously: the Jews of the Diaspora are a connecting link in the history of Roman architecture, in the transition of the basilica from Roman public building to Christian church. The rapid expansion in the use of the basilica design for churches in the fourth century is usually attributed to the authority of Constantine, who ordered churches built in great numbers; the result tends to be described as an Imperial tour de force, since the change is a rapid and radical one:[1] a design employed for a number of legal, political, commercial and social activities (many of them often occurring simultaneously in a single building) is turned to cultic use, allowing a unified religious group to carry on a developed liturgical service. It is true that some basilicas used for religious purposes were known by the time of the early Empire, but these were usually isolated examples and the line of derivation or influence from any of them to the Christian buildings was impossible to establish.[2] Some of the country synagogues in Galilee are of a basilica-like design, but they are small and usually primitive in architecture and a number are post-Constantinian; there is literary evidence for a giant Jewish basilica in Alexandria in the first century AD, the so-called diplostoon, and the historians of architecture usually mention it, but it lacked convincing attestation, i.e. excavated remains.[1]

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[1] For a survey of this construction and the political motivations which contributed to it, G. Armstrong, "Imperial Church Building and Church-State Relations, AD 313-363," Church History 37 (1967) 3-17. According to R. Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture (Pelican History of Art, no. 24, 1965) "only under Constantine are Christian concepts expressed in the language of the official architecture of Late Antiquity," 15, cf. 17ff. Also: J. Ward-Perkins, "Constantine and the Origins of the Christian Basilica," BSR 22 (1954) 69-90; F. Deichmann, "Basilika," RAC I 1249ff.

[2] Convenient list of religious basilicas in Deichmann, art. cit. (preceding note) 1247f.

With the discoveries in Sardis, however, there can be no further doubt; in their adaptation of the basilica, the fourth-century Christians had the example of earlier synagogue-basilicas to guide them, buildings large enough to furnish patterns for the monumental churches required by a newly-established religion. As Goodenough had long stressed, elements of Greco-Roman culture often were taken over by Christians not directly, but via Hellenistic Judaism, which adopted them first and so made them more acceptable, less obviously pagan.[1] To judge from Sardis, the major synagogues of the Jews are still another example of this principle; they showed Christians how the basilica design could be accommodated to their worship and liturgy (which were also from Jewish sources in large part).[2] The Sardis synagogue is the result of just such an accommodation by Jews, who were put in the happy dilemma of being "forced" to fit their community and its worship into this building, just as Christians were "forced" to make use of the basilica pattern for their worship a century later.

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[1] On the basilica-pattern in Galilee synagogues, Sukenik, Synagogues 46, cf. 7ff. (on his over-emphasis thereon, chapter II A end); Krauss, Syn. Alter. 334ff. On the Diplostoon, Goodenough, Symbols II 85f. with germane texts; he immediately made the connection with the Sardis building, Symbols XII 191, 193. The Diplostoon is regularly mentioned (briefly) by architectural historians, e.g. Deichmann, "Basilika," RAC I 1248 (also states, 1250, that the synagogue-basilica is contemporary with the Christian use of the basilica and so could not have been the cause of the Christian adaptation). Both "basilica" and "stoa" were transliterated for use in rabbinic texts, but the references there are not architectural descriptions and often the suspicion arises that quite early buildings (e.g. Solomon's temple) were being described anachronistically, in terms of the Imperial period. For an uncritical collection of relevant texts, see H. Gordon, "The Basilica and the Stoa in Early Rabbinical Literature," Art Bulletin 13 (1931) 355-66, 374f. (Solomon's temple, 355f.)

viii

In one respect the Sardis Jews were limited by this fine, large building: since it is located in a heavily built-up area in the central part of the Roman city, there is little room for expansion outside the synagogue itself. The palaestra abutted the north wall, shops and then the street lined the south wall, and the east end was taken up with the main entrance to the building (see the plan at the end of this chapter).

The space just west of the apse (area SynWest) is the only adjacent area available; it includes three rooms, the largest of which (C on the plan) is spacious and well-decorated, with some nine entrances, and appears to have been a passage-hall, always open to the public. The smaller room (B on the plan) was intended for the same purpose, though it was used as living quarters in a late period (and probably not by Jews). Room A was connected by a rude passage (not shown on the plan) to the small chamber in the southwest corner of the synagogue, adjacent to the apse; it was probably under Jewish control for a period, but was put to a variety of uses, was usually a public room, and perhaps most often served as a water-source (to judge from the many water-lines and drains beneath its floors).[1]

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[1] See my note in E. R. Goodenough with A. T. Kraabel, "Paul and the Hellenization of Christianity," Religions in Antiquity: Studies in Memory of E. R. Goodenough, ed. Jacob Neusner (1968) 47 note 3.

[2] See C. C. Richardson, "Worship in NT Times, Christian," IDB IV 883-85.

Room A is however almost surely not the "fountain of the synagogue" mentioned in CII 751 (= Sardis VII, no. 17, line 7), since the 1967 excavations revealed much more elaborate and powerful water-systems in the synagogue forecourt; the "fountain" of CII 751 must have been located there and probably included the large marble *krater* discovered there in 1962.[2] The fountain is regulated by the city, since its source is the city water supply, but was it open to the public? Could a Gentile come into the forecourt for water as he wished? The 1967 excavations showed that the lines under the forecourt could supply water in amounts far greater than that needed for synagogue use;[1] "public" use of the fountain thus becomes likely.

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[1] BASOR 187 (1967) 18.

[2] The *krater* was reconstructed in 1966, cf. BASOR 170 (1963) 47; 187 (1967) 59 fig. 70.

If the areas adjacent to the synagogue are thus inadequate or not available, the activities of the community must have taken place in the main hall for the most part; the sophodidaskalos inscription already discussed also points in that direction (see section v supra). Goodenough has gone further and, using the analogy of the Alexandria diplostoon, suggested that the main hall served also as a hiring hall, and even as a bazaar "where men of various crafts worked and sold their goods."[2] Only this last point is unlikely, since at Sardis shops lined the outside of the synagogue, between its south wall and the busy street (see plan at end of chapter); but nearly all other activities of the Jewish community must have taken place within the building.

The shops themselves give further evidence of daily contact between Jews and Gentiles: Jewish tradesmen's shops (e.g. SE 7, SE 13, SE 14) are side-by-side with a public restaurant (SE 1) and a small Christian baptistry.[1] The materials found in these shops come of course from the later stages of their use, when the power of Sardis Christians was on the increase; in earlier periods, a mingling of Jews and Gentiles (non-Christian, primarily) in even greater numbers is quite probable. Indeed, as the plan on the following page demonstrates, it must have been unavoidable; and all the Sardis evidence indicates that it was usually quite welcome.

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[1] Expedition engineer Tankut Akalin estimated the maximum output of the principal pipe at 42 liters per second (flowing full but without pressure), i.e. "even with heavy losses of water, the pipe delivered a volume 'thousands of times greater than those mentioned in the fountain list' (Sardis VII, no. 17). He (Akalin) believes that the forecourt fountain was among the unrationed public fountains" (letter of G. M. A. Hanfmann, 26 September 1967, quoting Akalin). On the custom of locating synagogues near water or water-sources, Krauss, Syn. Alter. 281-86, cf. L. E. Toombs, "Bathing," IDB I 365f. with the references there cited.

[2] Symbols XII 191.

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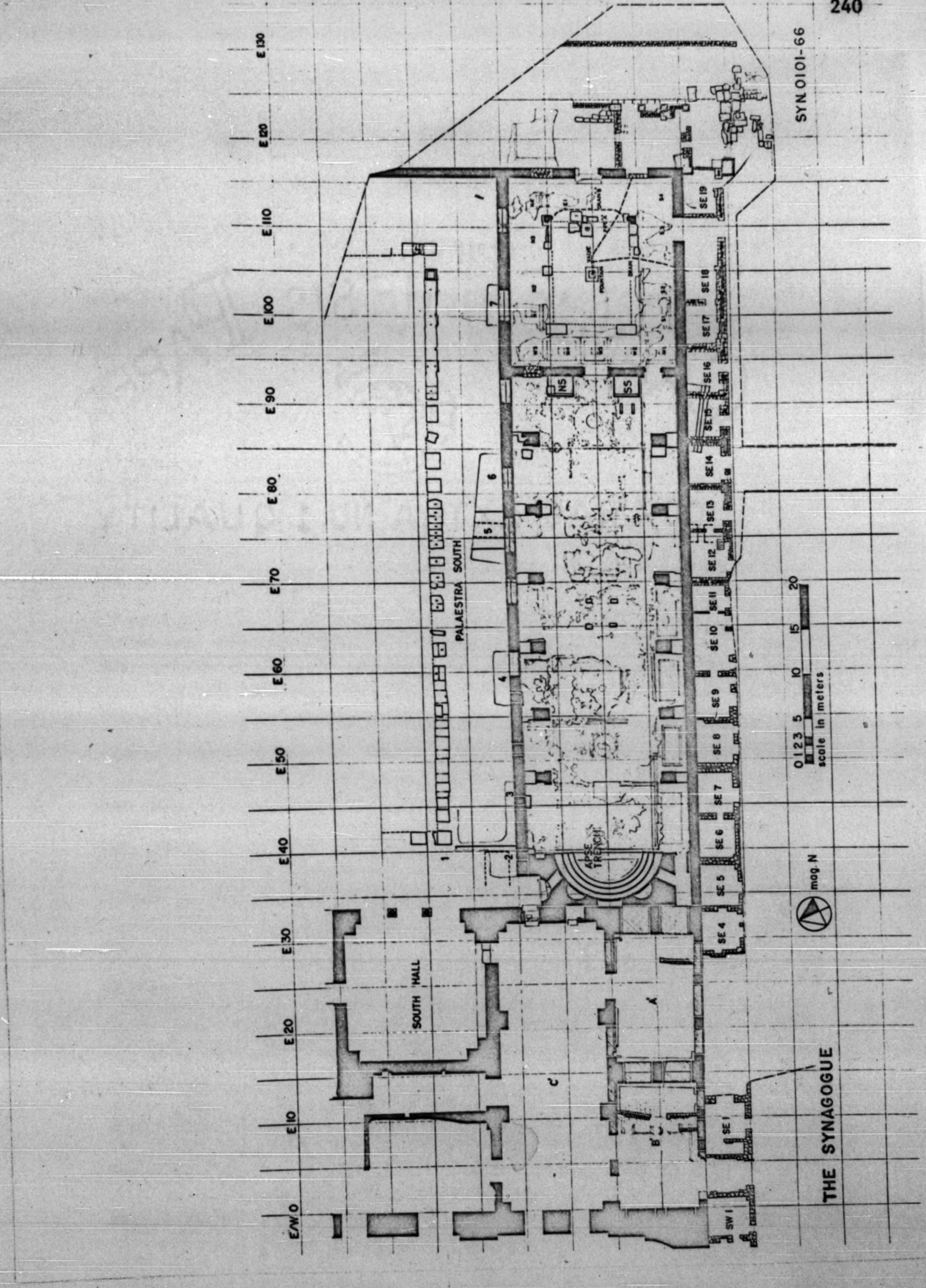
[1] The baptistry (shop SW 8) would be just beyond the left margin of the plan at the end of this chapter, BASOR 157 (1960) 32f. and fig. 18. Shops SE 13 and SE 14 were excavated in 1962, BASOR 170 (1963) 49-51; the others mentioned were uncovered in 1967, BASOR (1968)


THE SYNAGOGUE
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(Used by courtesy of the Sardis Expedition
and its Director, Prof. G.M.A.Hanfmann)

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS: SARDIS AND ANCIENT JUDAISM

A full discussion of all facets of the Sardis Jewish community and its synagogue must await final publication by the expedition and would require in any case the participation of specialists in ancient urban planning, and historians of architecture and art. Nevertheless, it is already obvious that Judaism in Asia Minor appears to be quite different from the best-known version of ancient Judaism, that in Syria-Palestine. The major reason for this difference is just the difference between Asia Minor and Palestine; even more than Greece itself, Asia was the center of the "Greek east" in the Imperial period, so that in the third century Diocletian could make Nicomedia, Bithynia his eastern capital and in the fourth, Constantine could create his own city on the Bosporus and establish a capital there. Behind the Asian cities of the Imperial period are Hellenistic power centers, the Seleucids and the Attalids, before them the Persians and the Mermnad dynasty of Sardis; nothing in the remoteness of Qumran or Dura (with its otherwise important synagogue) can compare with this procession of empires and developed, rich civilizations. If the Jews are in Sardis as early as the date of Obadiah, then Anatolian Judaism is a participant in the variegated history of Persian and Hellenistic Asia Minor from the beginning. Indeed, any convincing explanation of the Sardis phenomenon will probably include the hypothesis that the Jews there are so powerful and so integrated, in large part, because they have been in the city and have been important to the city for a long period of time.

A second reason for this apparent difference, though, is in the nature of the evidence used. Palestinian Judaism is known mainly from religious texts, and studies of these texts naturally result in contributions to the history of Jewish theology and exegesis. The Anatolian evidence illuminates the Jews' economic position, political power, social setting, etc., but says little about their piety, beyond attesting a desire to maintain synagogues and to record their allegiance to Judaism on their tombstones. Our understanding of the Jews will thus tend to be one-sided; the lack of balance in the Anatolian data must be kept in mind by anyone wishing to grasp the whole of their life and thought and piety.

On the basis of the evidence presented in chapter IV B, some tentative conclusions about the Sardis Jewish community may be stated. In the first place, its influence on the life of all the city must have been quite strong. The stature of individual Jews within Sardis was discussed in chapter IV B iii, but the power of the community as a whole is attested also by the building itself. There is no direct indication (dedication inscription, record of a decision of the city council, etc.) of the reason this building was given them late in the second century, but it was probably in compensation for benefactions by the Jews, and the most plausible hypothesis is that it is in return for contributions by wealthy Jews toward the rebuilding of the city after the earthquake of AD 17; this "urban renewal" took place on the rubble of the original destruction (the ruins were leveled but not removed) and continued over some two centuries after the disaster. The main gymnasium building, Building B, the first of the complex to be completed, dates to the middle of the second century, while the eastern section, the Marble Court with its colonnaded palaestra, was not finished until the early part of the third.[1] The synagogue must have come over to the Jews sometime within these two dates, since its earliest inscriptions also fall in that period.

When the Jews took possession of the building, the changes they made in it were primarily decorative. The orientation, with apse toward the west, was retained and later reinforced by adding three tiers of seats to the apse, and placing the Eagle Table before it;[2] the _aediculae_ at the east end were also installed.

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[1] Mitten gives these dates in his survey of the "several generations" of rebuilding in "A New Look at Ancient Sardis" 61f. Earthquakes continued to occur rather frequently in Asia Minor, but it appears that the AD 17 disaster was the major cause of damage in Sardis, and required the expenditure of large amounts in public and private funds. Other earthquakes in this period are listed by A. Hermann, "Erdbeben," RAC V 1104f.

[2] Orientation: Sukenik, Synagogues 50-52 insists that the rule requiring an individual to pray facing Jerusalem applies also to buildings, thus the front of a synagogue (that toward which the people face during a service) must be closest to Jerusalem. The archeological evidence is not consistent, however, and Krauss, Syn. Alter. 331-33, cf. 317ff. argues that the rule for individuals cannot be applied in this way, cf. I. Sonne, "Synagogue," IDB IV 485.

Most of all they decorated the building, paving the entire floor with mosaic, decorating the walls with small sections of marble (skoutlosis) and painting the ceiling.[1]

The building was both much narrower (in proportion) and much longer than the synagogues known to us from Palestine, but no extensive remodelling (e.g. cross-walls) was done. It was also an obviously Roman building, corresponding in design to the large gymnasium and other buildings nearby. No attempt appears to have been made to change this, and make the building into what would be (to us) a more recognizable example of "synagogue architecture."[2] As in Dura and Ostia, it is of a piece with its surroundings; in Sardis this extends to the reuse of local monuments (presumably not unfamiliar ones) as liturgical furniture: the Eagle Table with its flanking pairs of lions, and the "round monument" just to the north of them, all immediately before the eyes of the assembled community.

These examples of the Jews' influence in Sardis and of their great willingness to make use of the products of a Gentile culture allow another important conclusion: it must be said that Sardis has dealt a death-blow to Ramsay's frequently argued and long-lived opinions about the separateness of Anatolian Jews, which led them to disdain anything approaching full participation in the larger society around them. Such distinctiveness as the Sardis Jews might feel could as well have been based on economic or political power as on religious superiority, but nothing in the archeological or epigraphic evidence would suggest exclusiveness of any kind; they participate fully in the community's life, even to the extent of tying OT lion-imagery into the local mythology. This characteristic openness of Anatolian Judaism was hinted at in the evidence found earlier for towns like Apameia with its kibotos-myth, Eumeneia and Hierapolis with their funerary vocabulary shared with Gentiles, and Acmonia and Sala with their Jewish city officials. The evidence of Sardis puts it beyond any reasonable doubt.

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[1] On the evidence for this redecorating, Robert, Nouvelles Inscriptions 48-53. The noun skoutlosis and the verb skoutloo occur in a number of the new texts.

[2] The overly-rigid canons of synagogue architecture, as laid out in Sukenik's standard work, Synagogues, did not fit the Priene synagogue either. See the discussion supra, chapter II A ii.

A final hypothesis (and the most tentative) regarding Sardis Judaism remains. In the fourth century Christianity becomes the official religion of the Roman Empire, and by the end of that century Christian harassment of the Jews is well-attested.[1] Yet there is some evidence that in the later fourth century a rather extensive ananeosis or renovation of the synagogue took place.[2]

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[1] For example, the incident in AD 388 in which Ambrose, bishop of Milan, successfully pressured the emperor Theodosius I into rescinding an order which would have forced a Mesopotamian bishop to rebuild with his own funds a synagogue which he had led his flock in destroying (Parkes, Conflict 166-68).

[2] Attested by inscription IN 62.111, a fragment which says only "ananeosis of Hippasios...," and by archeological evidence of the remodelling itself, which apparently took place along with similar

The most auspicious time for this would have been the reign of the anti-Christian emperor Julian, who ruled alone for less than two years (AD 361-63); during this time he supported the Jews of the Empire to the extent that this would discomfit the Church, and even decided to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem, so that the Jews might begin sacrifices there again, a practice which Jews and pagans would then have in common against the Christians.[1] Two of Julian's close associates are natives of Sardis, his teacher Chrysanthios and his biographer Eunapios. Julian made Chrysanthios archiereus of Lydia as part of his campaign against Christianity, and Eunapios' writings make clear that the hostility to Christianity was shared by a number of Anatolian officials, who restored pagan temples and reestablished ancient sacrifices.[2] Simon once called attention to a noticeable increase in Jewish proselytizing and anti-Christian polemic in the latter part of the fourth century, and attributed it in part to the "anti-Christian and pro-Jewish policies of Julian;"[3]

(continued from preceding page) work on the Marble Court. On the inscription, Robert, Nouvelles Inscriptions 53 note 2. Most recently on the ananeosis, BASOR 187 (1967) 27.

[1] On Julian, Labriolle, Réaction 369ff. and Simon, Verus Israel 139-44 with the literature there cited. Julian may also have wished to confound such NT texts as Mt.23:37-24:2, which imply that the Temple will remain in ruins until the Parousia, cf. Simon, Verus Israel 142.

[2] Labriolle, Réaction 364, cf. 362-68. See also I. Opelt, "Eunapios," RAC VI 928-36.

[3] Simon, Verus Israel 16; this part of his book is identical to the 1948 first edition and was written long before the Sardis discoveries.

the _ananeosis_ of the Sardis synagogue may be a result of these policies, which doubtless were faithfully reflected by Chrysanthios and Eunapios, both of whom spent much of their adult lives in Lydia.

Whatever the reason, Judaism in Sardis retained its influence for some time in the face of increasing Christian strength; one indication of this is the surprising fact that the huge synagogue (whose presence might be expected to gall many Christians of the late fourth century and beyond) was never turned into a church. Perhaps Sardis Christians at this time were more than usually accommodating to neighboring Jews. Perhaps Sardis Jews were even more powerful economically and politically than present data would indicate. Or perhaps the entire city resisted full Christianization for a rather long period and (like Julian himself) befriended its Jews out of hatred of the new religion.

The Sardis finds will also result in greater clarity in the understanding of Anatolian Christianity in the Imperial period. _In primis_ it must be admitted that the "Jewish Christians" often thought responsible for monuments with Jewish characteristics are rather Jews in most cases, and that the complicated and syncretistic Judaism seen behind some of the "heresies" in Asia Minor turns out to be Anatolian Judaism of a fairly standard type (as in Colossians) or an indigenous and non-Jewish religiosity (as in Montanism and nearly all cults of Hypsistos).

But if Anatolian Judaism has its own distinctive stamp, then the Jews who become Christians in this area will bring into the new religion "Jewish" elements which need not coincide with, e.g. Palestinian Judaism; it will be a more cosmopolitan Judaism, tied more firmly to "Hellenism" and in particular to the pagan piety of Lydia and Phrygia. Like Anatolian Judaism, Christianity here will also be more distinctive than is usually recognized, differing from that of Rome, for example, as Rome differed from Syria or Egypt.[1] Greater attention must thus be paid to the varieties of Christianity and of Judaism in the Imperial period, and in particular to the interactions of all religions in a given area and their common backgrounds there. Surely we need more work on "the religious traditions of Asia Minor (or Africa or Greece)" before still another history of ante-Nicean theology or another survey of late Judaism. As regards the study of Diaspora Judaism, the next step is to look at the differences within this entity and attempt to isolate the particularities of Roman or Egyptian or Dura Judaism; questions as to social and economic level, degree of integration into the culture, relative antiquity of the community are all important, and the varieties of answers would be quite illuminating. Such studies would also help to inform the strong current interest in the Jewish sources of Gnosticism and of early Christian movements often called heretical.

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[1] Some examples of the peculiarities of Anatolian Christianity ("orthodox" and "heretical") are given in chapter II B v supra.

Qumran finished off the old idea of a monolithic Palestinian Judaism in the years around the birth of Christ. Sardis stands to be the catalyst for a similar change in the understanding of the Diaspora Judaism of the following centuries, dispersing what Gerhard Kittel called "das antike Weltjudentum" in favor of a picture of each major community, one including its "sociology" as well as its theology. When such a comprehensive study has been made, it will be even more clear that the city of Sardis ranks only slightly below Rome and Alexandria as a center of Diaspora Judaism--and the awesomeness and importance of its synagogue may perhaps never be surpassed.[1]

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[1] The ancient buildings of Sardis escaped some of the destruction that centuries of continuous habitation inflicted on Rome and Alexandria, since the city was virtually abandoned in the seventh century (Hanfmann, Sardis und Lydien 535f.). If a synagogue is to be found in the Mediterranean countries to surpass the one at Sardis, it will probably appear somewhere in Africa or again in Asia Minor, where large Jewish settlements are known to have existed in the Imperial period, and where the later residents were (as at Sardis) too few in number to destroy the ancient evidence.

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Distances given herein are plotted on A Classical Map of Asia Minor by W. M. Calder and G. E. Bean, after J. G. C. Anderson (1958); it should be noted that difficulty of communication does not always vary directly with the mileage (i.e., the more miles, the greater difficulty), but the mileages will give some rough indication of the possibilities for contact between Anatolian sites.

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